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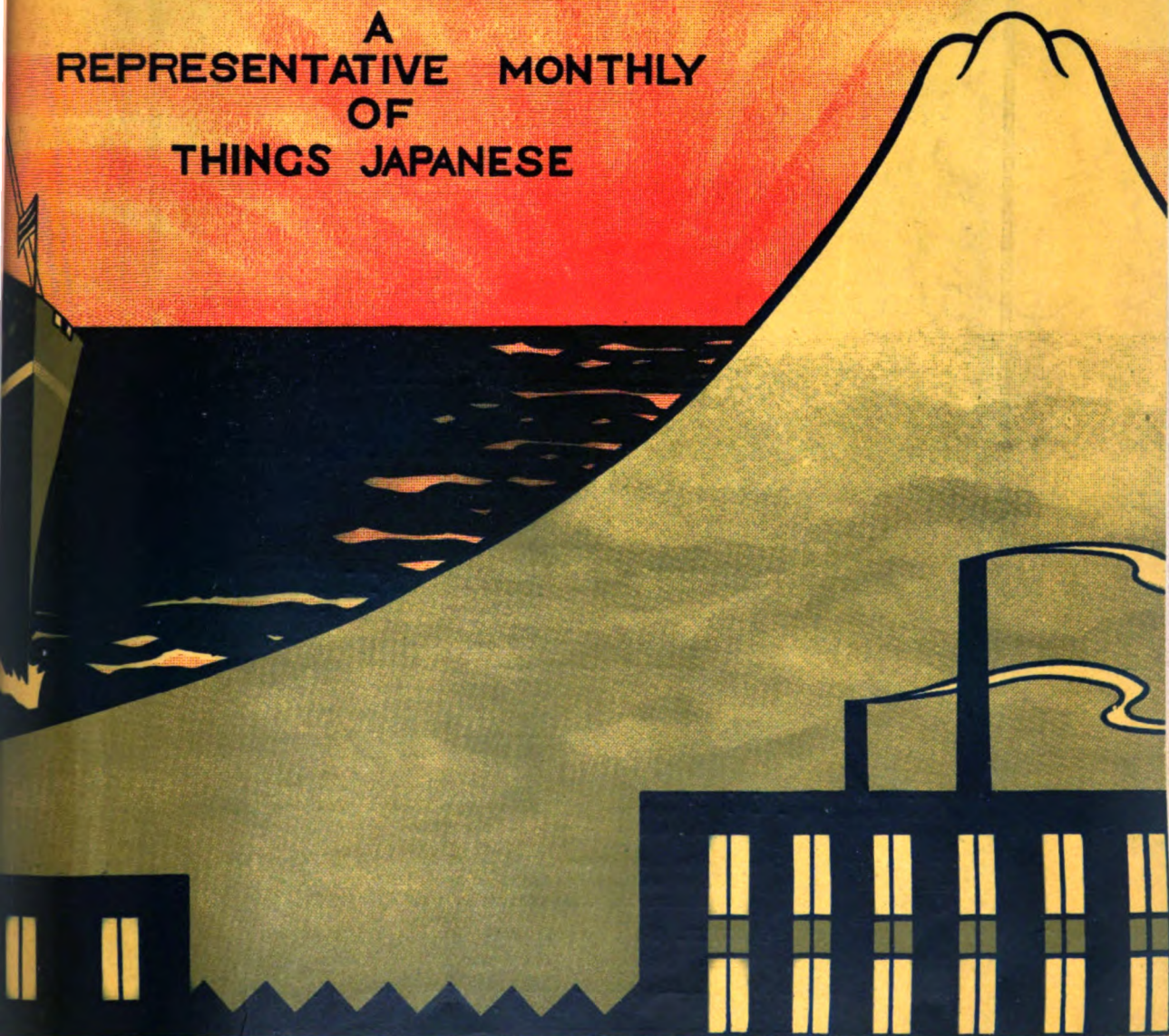
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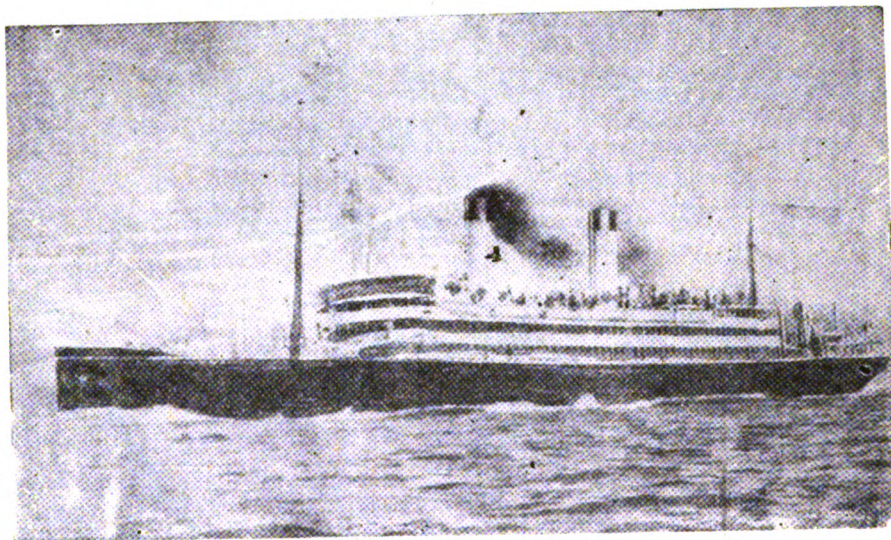
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A REPRESENTATIVE MONTHLY OF THINGS JAPANESE

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NEW CABINET MINISTERS

From Left to Right : Mr. Yokota (Justice), Dr. Sengoku (Railways), Admiral Takarabe (Navy), Mr. Inukai (Communication), Mr. Takahashi (Agriculture and Commerce), Baron Shidehara (Foreign), Viscount Kato (Premier), Mr. Wakatsuki (Home), Lieutenant-General Ugaki (Military), Mr. Hamaguchi (Finance)



Captain D'Oisy Landing at Tokorozawa in Completion of His Paris to Tokyo Flight
and Ambassador Claudel of France



Sir Rabindranath Tagor, a Celebrated Indian Poet, Just Arriving in Tokyo

THE JAPAN MAGAZINE

VOL. XIV

JULY, 1924

No. XI

THE MONTH IN PROGRESS

THE EDITOR'S DIARY

APRIL 11th:—The first session of the Imperial Economic Council was held this afternoon; the important feature of the proceedings was the speech of Viscount Kiyoura, Prime Minister, who stated the *raison d'être* of the organ; some of the members attacked the government as regards the official ruling to carry on the debates behind closed door; ten bills were introduced into the council, dealing with all the aspects of the economic life of Japan; Baron Sakatani was elected Manager of the section of finance.

The Suffrage Committee of the Privy Council is reported to have had an acrimonious debate with the Home Minister Dr. Midzuno, the representative of the Cabinet; the privy councillors found fault with the government's idea of restricting the suffrage to male persons earning their own living.

Dispatches from Peking say that the negotiations between Karakhan and Yoshizawa made no progress on April 10th, due to the firmness of both envoys in holding to their respective claims; the latter proposes to settle the Vladivostock troubles first, while the former wants to have them included in the points to be discussed at the formal conference.

The Municipal authorities of Tokyo carried on street demonstrations for the adoption of the Metric System for the everyday use of the people.

It is cabled from Shanghai that the Chinese gunboat Chaowu returned from a cruise in Southern Chinese waters for dispersing pirate junk fleets.

Arrangements have been completed by the Department of Railways and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha for the sale of through tickets between Shanghai and all the important railway stations in Japan; the steamship company maintains the Japan-China Rapid Express service between Nagasaki and Shanghai.

April 12th:—According to a Moscow dispatch, steps are being taken by the governments of Mongolia and Russia to establish a bank which will be operated under their joint management; its affairs will be in the hands of a board of two Russian directors and three Mongolian directors.

The Imperial Government has given out that Mr. Tamon Maeda is appointed chief delegate of the government for the International Labor Conference to be held at Geneva this summer and Mr. Kakishi Kawarada, a high official of the Bureau of Social Affairs, as the second delegate.

The convening of a scientists' conference of the Pacific nations in Tokyo in 1926 came up for deliberation at the Department of Education today; invitations will be sent to some 200 scientists in the twenty-two nations bordering on the Pacific Ocean next spring; the proposed gathering is to be held at the Tokyo Imperial University in November of the year named; problems discussed will cover anthropology, zoology, botany, geography, astronomy, medicine, geology, physics, chemistry, and agriculture; Prince Kan-in will be asked to become honorary president of the conference.

The reduction of money for warship-building to the amount of Yen 88,000,000 may possibly put the Navy to the necessity of carrying out another "adjustment" in its various shipyards; as these shipyards employ about 55,000 mechanics, the first thing to be done in this direction will be to discharge about 9,000 men, who must be given bonuses of Yen 6,500,000 before their dismissal; the Minister of Finance however is 'opposed to such a large grant.

Three Japanese destroyers left Ominato this morning for the Kurile Islands to meet the American world-fliers.

It is announced that the Missionary Association of Japan will meet for the spring session in the new Y.M.C.A. building near Umeda Station in Osaka on May 13th; Prof. James B. Pratt and Dr. Hilton Pedley will be the principal speakers.

The Admiral Oriental Line will reduce the time of its southbound schedule from Hongkong to Seattle one day beginning May 30 by limiting the stay of its steamers in Hongkong to one instead of two days.

It is reported from Kobe that Mr. H. E. Byram, President of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, accompanied by his wife and daughter, will arrive there April 20 or 21 from an overland trip in China; the party has been visiting Manila, Hongkong, and other points in the South.

April 13th:—A Washington dispatch saying that the House of Representatives passed the new Immigration Bill which will debar Japanese subjects from the United States, is received.

Nine athletes holding national records in various field sports and six champion swimmers were chosen to represent Japan in the Olympic Games in France this year. They leave from Kobe by the N. Y. K. steamer, Katori Maru, on April 27th, reaching Marseilles on June 4th.

Word has been received that the Suzuki Shoten, of Kobe, entered into an agreement with the Soviet Government of Russia to purchase the output of the zinc mine at Tutuhe, near Vladivostock; shipments already completed amounted to

about 6,000 tons, while ores which are yet to be sent to Japan are estimated at 7,000 tons; the Kobe firm, which paid Yen 400,000, will reduce the ores at its refinery in Shimonoseki.

April 14th:—In the Korean Imperial university which will be on the same footing as those in Japan colleges of Law, Literature, and Medicine will be created and the Preparatory School is to be established this year.

Both Viscount Shibusawa and Baron Sakatani, in an interview with the representative of a foreign paper in Tokyo, were quite frank in denouncing the American politicians for the passage of the anti-Japanese Bill.

Five Japanese who performed conspicuous services for British subjects in the period following the September earthquake were awarded decorations at the British Embassy; it was announced that two other Japanese will be similarly honored.

A Shanghai cable states that Rabindranath Tagore, the wellknown Indian poet and philosopher, has arrived there on his way to Peking, where he will deliver a series of lectures on philosophy.

Press dispatches from Hitokappu Bay, Yotorofu, which was almost unknown to the Japanese public before arrangements were made to greet the American fliers, report that the U. S. destroyers Pope and John D. Ford safely reached there.

Laws pertaining to the adoption of the Metric System for weights and measures in this country will come into operation in July; the officials in charge of the matter are to see that the system is completely utilized in the course of the next twenty years.

As 1924 is the bicentenary of Emanuel Kant, the great German philosopher various scientific and educational bodies will observe his birth by holding public lectures on or about April 22nd; they will petition the government for official co-operation.

M. Leon Karakhan gave out through the Rosta News Agency that the parley between him and Mr. Yoshizawa will be

discontinued till the Tokyo Government has made up its mind about the matters they have taken up.

The eyes of the Japanese nation are centered on Washington and the American legislation which Japanese consider involves their national pride and honor. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Matsui, appealed through the American correspondents in Tokyo "against the final passage of the proposal designed to exclude Japanese" from the United States.

The extent to which the immigration question as a subject of interest surpassed all others is reflected in the space it occupied in the news and editorial columns of the vernacular papers; "Americans," writes the *Asahi*, which is usually reticent about international questions, "should remember that back of the Hanihara note is the entire, united nation of Japan;" according to the *Yorodzu*, Japan will find it more to her benefit in opposing America "at the risk of her very existence than in being subject to further dishonor and torment;" Mr. Tokutomi, the wellknown editor of the *Kokumin* declares, in a signed article, that Americans would find it far more advantageous for themselves to "seek an immediate and happy solution of this knotty problem" than for Japanese; Mr. Bunji Suzuki, President of the Japan Labor Federation, who has been elected chief delegate to the International Labor Conference at Geneva, sums up the exclusion bill as "an insult hurled in the face of organized labor in Japan."

The U. S. destroyers Truxton, Pillsbury, and Paul Jones of the American Asiatic Fleet arrived at Yokohama; after a few days' stay there, they will leave for their respective destinations, where they will await the arrival of the American world-fliers.

The Spanish Minister to Japan, Don Jose Caro, sailed from Kobe on the President Lincoln en route to Madrid via San Francisco and New York on a temporary leave of absence.

It is cabled from Seoul that Lieutenant-Commander Minotsuma and Captain Matsui who have been undergoing preliminary hearings at the hands of the Soviet

authorities in Vladivostock were found guilty and will soon be sent to Moscow for formal trial.

A Hongkong cable reports that arrangements have been made there for putting in commission several armed launches to escort steamers on the Hongkong-Kongmoon run, to safeguard the steamers from attacks by pirates.

The Wages of Caprice

Japan is bewildered by the anti-Japanese legislation which the American Congress has passed. A time there was, when Americans were looked up to as her benefactors; it was they who took an interest in her growth as a modern nation and did everything to accelerate it.

Naturally there will ensue an outcry of indignation against the United States: irate comments in the press; mass meetings of agitators; and campaigns for organized boycott movements. It is admitted that some of the Japanese people are born firebrands about anything which affects their country. Happily these voices are in the last resort drowned in the thoughtful statements of those who can look at the situation from a broader viewpoint. Now is the time, when the importance of silence can never be too strongly impressed upon the general body of the people. The true Japanese feeling about the matter lies in those hearts, which suppress all outward, cheap manifestations of emotion.

If press reports from Canada and Australia can be taken at face value, there is a great deal of sentiment favoring a united front against the Japanese nation. One of the political leaders of Australia is said to have advised, in a speech-making tour in America, that the English-speaking nations should take concerted steps against Japan. There is a threat in these words, which the speaker made no scruple to disguise. If the aim of these statements is to overawe the people it is a great miscalculation which will bring discredit upon those who make it. To weaken under intimidation has no place in the Japanese heart, thanks to the samurai spirit which prevailed in the bygone regime. One was taught to face single-

handed overwhelming odds and die rather than submit to indignities, which, though it may fail in individual cases, will assuredly be found true with any large assembly of men. If they deem it wise to back down or pose as if they had submitted, it will be a result of cool deliberation and as a matter of strategy. The loud voices of indignation and protest raised against the United States are out of tune with the thoughts of the really farsighted. At all events the anti-Japanese Immigration law will greatly lessen the good results of the Washington Conference.

Men like Baron Sakatani, are outspoken in expressing their regret.

The following are some of the remarks attributed to the baron:—

The passage of the anti-Japanese measure is a most regrettable affair respecting the traditional friendship between these Pacific nations. To the United States, it seems to us that this affair involves only a handful of immigrants, while to Japan it is a question of honor and international prestige. To us it appears that the entry of some hundred Japanese emigrants into America each year would be but a drop in the ocean. We wonder why Americans are so firmly bent upon injuring the feelings of this people who have done nothing in the past to wound the susceptibilities of the American people.

We appeal to the wisdom and the judgment of the entire American people, for the happy solution of this problem, on which depends so much Japan's honor and national prestige and the friendship and amity between the two nations.

Viscount Shibusawa bewails the situation. He says, "For more than half a century, Japan has done everything within her power to cultivate the friendship of the American people. She has depended upon their justice and loving spirit for guidance, for the furtherance of her national destiny and for everything in which she has needed help from without. We fail to understand why this anti-Japanese agitation has won the support of Congress.

"Japan has done her honest best to prove faithful to her promise given in the

Gentlemen's Agreement. More she could not do. Japan has always paid the highest regard to the interests of the United States. Therefore, in spite of the agitation by some of the anti-Japanese elements, we had never dreamed of such a result. We still trust in the fairness of American public opinion and in an ultimate change in the future developments of the problem."

Viscount Goto Refutes Charges

Japan is held accountable to various charges by Americans and Britons, such as cherishing the desire to grasp their insular possessions in the Pacific Ocean. In a foreign paper published in Tokyo, Viscount Goto is quoted at length, refuting point by point these allegations. We quote him here due to the fact that this leader in Japanese politics, though in temporary eclipse, wields such a considerable influence that his opinions are sought as powerfully expressing the will of a considerable body of the public.

He first points out the mistaken belief of Japanese who are under the impression that the United States and England are co-operating against the interests of their country. "There is," he declared, "no justification for the allegation that the United States and Britain are jointly at work against Japan, because there is no reason why they should do so. Japan has no aggressive designs, is preparing for no offensive war. But she cannot dispense with her plans for national defence. The Japanese love peace as much as do any other people, but this does not mean that they can afford to neglect their defensive armaments."

After pointing out that Japan is prepared to keep up her defences within the limits dictated by necessity, he said:

The exercise of a little common sense will disclose the absurdity of the charge that Japan's attention is being directed toward British possessions in the Pacific. If Japan had had any such ambition, the World War offered her the opportunity of realizing it. While Europe was engrossed in war, Japan could easily have accomplished any thing which she sought to do.

Instead of availing herself of this unexcelled opportunity, she adhered to the cause of the Allies and to the spirit underlying the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. What she did not seek to do when the circumstances were so propitious she certainly will not attempt now when there is no longer the remotest possibility of success. If the instigators of such a bogey are actuated by commercial motives, why worry about them, since right-minded persons will reject it.

The attempt to connect the question of Philippine independence with Japan's ambitions is just as ridiculous. Anyone who knows anything of the situation must be conscious of the futility of such a scheme. Japan might possibly seize the Philippines, but it would be manifestly impossible for her to hold the islands. Their independence or lack of independence is none of our business. I dare say that propaganda of this sort aims at the breeding of ill feeling between this country and the United States.

As regards a further reduction of armaments, I am out and out in favor of it, provided the motive comes from an honest love of peace. There is no reason why Japan should oppose it, but I feel that it will be very difficult to carry it out because of the conflict of interests of the various Powers. The military and naval authorities will have something to say on this subject.

The Wang-Karakhan Parley

All the propitious speed, with which the Wang-Karakhan conference has suddenly come to nothing. The negotiations, after going through all sorts of developments, had received the signatures of the envoys. Then came the allegation by some members of the Cabinet in Peking that Dr. C. T. Wang, the representative of the Chinese Government, was, though invested with powers to conduct the parley with Karakhan, not the duly constituted official for China to sign on her behalf. The Soviet envoy was angry and claimed the contrary to be the case. The causes of the failure at Peking are said to be manifold.

Many leaders at Peking are dissatisfied with the terms Wang secured from the Russian representative, who is reported to have given the following assurances:—

1. Russia agrees to the abrogation of those treaties made by the Chinese Government and the Russian Government under the Tzars which are derogatory to the sovereign power of China.

2. Russia agrees to the abrogation of the treaties made between Mongolia and the Russian Government under the Tzars.

3. Russia agrees to evacuate Outer Mongolia; but this will place on China the responsibility of keeping the White Russians well in hand.

Karakhan is thus willing to nullify those Sino-Russian treaties infringing China's sovereign powers. But it is stated that he will not enter upon the matter till the formal negotiations, expected some time in the autumn. This means that the Chinese Government will have to tolerate those treaties for a number of months yet. China's position vis-a-vis Russia in Mongolia is peculiar, for the very idea that Moscow concluded covenants with Mongolia presupposes that the Mongolians have been maintaining an independent government. Another difficulty for China is that she is asked to submit to counter-terms, for having foreign troops in her domains withdraw.

According to other information, the Chinese Government has arrived, as regards the assurances of M. Karakhan, at the following decision:—

1. There are about fifty treaties between China and Russia, which are of such a nature that it is extremely difficult to distinguish what is harmful to China's sovereign rights from what is not.

2. Any treaty between Mongolia and Russia should be abrogated, no matter whether concluded between the old Russian regime or the Soviet.

3. Russia should designate the exact date for withdrawing her troops from Mongolia.

The foregoing emanated from a Chinese course but is contradicted by the Russians, who claim that the Chinese statements about Mongolia are a mere cover for hiding the truth. What the Russians declare to be the truth is that the Chinese Government was overawed by the intervention of France and some other Imperialistic Powers, which would be badly involved in a collapse of the Russo-Asiatic Bank, if such a thing should happen as a result of the change in the ownership of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It is beyond question that the warning of the French Minister in Peking about the Wang-Karakhan attempts to settle the railway muddle had such influence on Chinese officialdom that the Financial Minister of China who is always inclined to bow to France has, it is stated, come to an understanding with Wellington Koo, who is in the habit of looking up to the United States in foreign politics. These two ministers following the Powers which hate the Soviet above all, the Chinese Cabinet went against favoring Dr. C. T. Wang, who is full of the desire to turn to account his efforts with Karakhan.

Another thing which induced the diplomatic rupture is the presence of many factions in the government of China which are in rivalry about almost anything. Here the military leaders bared their teeth; particularly General Wupei Fu, who made strong representations to both the President and the Premier against the pourparlers between Karakhan and Wang. Notwithstanding this there are many Chinese authorities, who really regret the breach with Russia. It is said that though Premier Sun, in an interview with Karakhan personally appealed to the Soviet representative the latter refused to give way. He delivered an ultimatum to the Chinese Government, declaring that, unless China failed to answer by 2 p.m. on March 19th, everything would be at an end. And China did not do so.

Premier Kiyoura at the Imperial Economic Council

The following translation is a resume of the speech which the Prime Minister

delivered at the opening meeting of the council on April 11th:—

The nation of Japan has fallen into a maze of difficulties and hardships, and the situation is such that the whole people must stand as a compact unit to find a way out. Our economic activities have had a relapse from the extraordinary prosperity during the World War and are in a predicament, with the result that the export business is reduced to an alarming degree. On the other hand, imports are constantly increasing. No comment is needed to show, what effect such a state of affairs will have on the various phases of industry in this country.

With reference to manufacturing industries, everyone of us is aware of the fact that many businesses or branches of industry which were set on foot during the hostilities in Europe are about to come to grief. There are many important problems, which we must solve in all seriousness; such as the development of basic industries and the improvement of the many industrial enterprises of various sizes. Agriculture is emphatically the most important branch of industry in Japan, as those engaged in it number more than half the population of the country. Despite the significance of husbandry, the social and economic uneasiness which characterize the age are in evidence in village life and have wrought decay. Japan is confronted by a serious situation not only in her foreign trade, and manufacturing business, but in all other activities. It is therefore high time for Japan to set up fundamental principles to retrieve herself, together those for improvement in the world of finance. If we fail in providing measures necessary for the ends in view, we shall be neglecting what it is indispensable for the welfare of the nation.

Respecting social conditions, the thoughts of people are upset and without stability as never seen before; the living of the people has no secure base; the public are tormented with many problems which retard their progress. Therefore it is believed that, under such circumstances, the promotion of education and general culture will yield immense benefit to the

Import Tariff Raised on Luxurious Articles

THE Luxury Tariff Bill having passed both houses of the Diet, became a law on July, to be effective at once. A uniform 100 per cent ad valorem rate of duty is applicable to all articles included in the Luxury Tariff, of which a complete table is subjoined. The figures in the first brackets represent the current rate of advalorem duty or the specific rate per a certain unit rendered into an equivalent ad valorem rate, while the figures in the second brackets denote the percentage of duty increase over the current rate.

Tariff No.

31 Vegetables, fruits and nuts:

- 1 Preserved with sugar, molasses, syrup or honey, including receptacles. (yen 12.70 per 100 kin or 80 p.c.) [20].
- 2 Others. A. Vegetables. 1. In cans, including receptacles. (7.90 per 100 kin or 40 p.c.; Conventional tariff, 6.00 or 30 p.c.) [60]. 2. In bottles, including receptacles. (7.60 or 40 p.c.) [60]. 3. In jars, including receptacles. (1.95 or 40 p.c.) [60]. B. Other. 1. In cans, including receptacles. (7.25 or 40 p.c.) [60]. Fruits in cans. (Conv. tariff 5.50 or 30 p.c.) [70]. 2. In bottles, includ-

thoughts of the public and rigorous dealing with those who are inclined to make of a radical nature is believed to be as necessary for the welfare of the general public as the carrying out of timely economic policies.

There is every necessity to make the means of transport and communication much more efficient. This is essential for the satisfactory functioning of our economic organs and eventually the economic advancement of the Japanese nation.

The then Prime Minister stated that for the economic development of the nation, the end must be attained by approaching the subject from all related directions, such as finance, foreign trade, manufacture, agriculture, social politics, and colonial undertakings, transport, and communications.

ing receptacles. (8.50 or 40 p.c.) 60. 3. In jars, including receptacles. (3.20 or 40 p.c.) [60]. 4. Other. a. Fresh fruits. (4.00 per 100 kin or 30 p.c.) [70]. Citron. (Conv. tariff. 2.50 or 20 p.c.) [80]. b. Dried fruits. (6.90 or 30 p.c.) [70]. c. Nuts. (7.85 or 30 p.c.) [70].

- 32 Tea: 1. Black tea. (22.60 or 45 p.c.) [55]. 3. Other. (6.00 or 45 p.c.) [55].
- 33 Mate and other tea substitutes. (45 p.c.) [55].
- 36 Cocoa (not sugared): 1. In the bean. (6.00 or 15 p.c.) [85]. 2. Other, including receptacles. (43.00 or 45 p.c.) [55].
- 44 Honey, including receptacles. (7.20 or 60 p.c.) [40].
- 45 Confectionery and cakes. (32.00 or 80 p.c.) [20].
- 46 Jams, fruit, jellies and the like, including receptacles. (17.50 or 80 p.c.) [20].
- 47 Biscuits (not sugared), including receptacles. (13.30 or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 49 Fruit juices and syrups: 1. Fruit juices (sugared) and syrups. A. In bottles or cans (including receptacles) (15.30 or 60 p.c.) [40]. B. Other. (10.70 or 60 p.c.) [40]. 2. Other, including receptacles. (11.00 or 45 p.c.) [55].
- 54 Cheese. (20.50 or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 60 Mineral waters, soda water and similar beverages, not containing sugar or alcohol. (16.00 per 100 litres or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 62 Chinese liquors, fermented. (17.50 per 100 litres) [—].
- 63 Beer ale, porter and stout. (16.40 per 100 litres) [—].
- 66 Alcoholic liquors, not otherwise provided for: 1. Containing not more than 7 per cent by volume of pure alcohol which has a specific gravity of 0.7947 at 15 degrees C. (27.80 per 100 litres). 2. Other. A. In bottles. (124.00 per 100 litres).

- B. In other receptacles. (73.90 per 100 litres).
- 67 Beverages and foods not otherwise provided for: 1. Sugared. (60 p.c.) [40].
- 69 Skins I. Of sheep and goats. (9.40 or 40 p.c.) [60]. 2. Other. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 70 Fur manufactures not otherwise provided for. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 72 Leather: 1 Of bulls, oxen, cows, buffaloes, horses, sheep and goats. A. Lacquered, japanned or enameled (20 p.c.) 2. Of chamois, including imitation chamois leather. (74.40 per 100 kin or 20 p.c.) [80]. 4. Of alligators and crocodiles. A. Each weighing not more than 150 grammes. (207.00 or 30 p.c.) [70]. B. Other. (113.00 or 30 p.c.) [70]. 5 Of lizards. (394.00 or 30 p.c.) [70].
- 73 Leather manufactures, not otherwise provided for: 3. Other. A. Combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory or tortoise shell. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 75 Feather and down: 1. For ornament. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 77 Manufactures of feathers or birds' skins with feathers not otherwise provided for. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 81 Manufactures of animal tusks not otherwise provided for: 1. Of elephants' tusks. (50 p.c.) [50]. 2. Other. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 88 Manufacturers of tortoise shell not otherwise provided for. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 89 Coral. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 90 Manufacturers of coral not otherwise provided for. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 91 Pearls. (5 p.c.) [95].
- 94 Manufacturers of skin, hair, bone, horn, teeth, tusk, shell, etc., not otherwise provided for. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 95 Vegetable volatile oils: 1 Aromatic. (free) [100.] Volatile oils of citrus fruits (essences of orange, lemon, bergamot, mandarin, etc.) (Conv. — Italy—free) [100.]
- 117 Soaps: 1. Perfumed, including inner packing. (28.50 or 50 p.c.; Conv. —France—18.00) [50.] 2. Other. (5.70 or 30 p.c.) (Conv.—France—2.90) [70.]
- 118 Oils, fats and waxes, perfumed; and preparations of oil, fat or wax, perfumed, including receptacles and inner packing. (78.00 or 50 p.c.; Conv.—France—35.00) [50.]
- 119 Toilet waters, including receptacles and inner packing. (90.00 or 60 p.c.) [40.] 1. Perfumed vinegar. (Conv.—France—30.00) 2. Other. (Conv.—France—50.00)
- 134 Musk. (101.00 per 100 kin or 30 p.c.) [70.]
- 135 Artificial musk. (81.50 or 10 p.c.) [90.]
- 136 Nard or spikenard. (4.80 or 30 p.c.) [70.]
- 137 Cloves. (free) [100.]
- 139 Sandalwood. 2. Other. (3.05 or 30 p.c.) [70.]
- 205 Borneo camphor; blumea or ngai camphor and artificial Borneo camphor and artificial Borneo camphor. (250.00 or 67 p.c.) [33.]
- 221 Vanillin, coumarin, heliotropin and similar chemicals not otherwise provided for. (10 p.c.) [90.]
- 222 Tooth powders, tooth washes, toilet powders and other prepared toilet articles not otherwise provided for. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 223 Joss sticks. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- ex. 229 Artificial spices and essences.
- 234 Fireworks (12.70 or 50 p.c.) [50.]
- 291 Yarns not otherwise provided for. 1. Partly of silk, artificial silk, or metal. (30 p.c.) [70.]
- 301 Fabrics of wool and mixed fabrics of wool and cotton, of wool and silk, or of wool, cotton and silk: 1 Velvets, plushes and other pile fabrics with piles cut or uncut: A. Partly of silk. (180.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] B. Other. (50.00 or 25 p.c.) [75.] C. Of wool and silk, or of wool, cotton and silk. 1 Containing not more than 10 per cent of silk by weight—a. Weighing not more than 100 grammes per square metre. (144.00 or 40 p.c.)

- [60.] b. Weighing not more than 200 grammes per square metre (13.0 or 40 p.c.) [60.] e. Weighing not more than 500 grammes per square metre. (128.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] d. Other, (120.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 2 Containing not more than 25 per cent of silk by weight—**a.** Weighing not more than 100 grammes per square metre. (188.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **b.** Weighing not more than 200 grammes per square metre. (180.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **c.** Weighing not more than 500 grammes per square metre. (172.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **d.** Other. (164.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.]
- 303 Silk fabrics and silk mixed fabrics not otherwise provided for: 1 Velvets, plushes and other pile fabrics with piles cut or uncut. **A.** Of silk. (520.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **B.** Other (18.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 3. Other. **A.** Of silk. **a.** Fabrics of wild silk. (200.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **b.** Other. (520.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **B.** Other **a.** containing by weight not more than—10 per cent of silk. (90.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **b.** 25 per cent of silk. (280.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **c.** 50 per cent of silk (280.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] **d.** Other. (380.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.]
- 305 Stockinet and similar knitted fabrics napped or not: 1 Wholly or partly of silk. (45 p.c.) [55.]
- 306 Lace fabrics and netted fabrics: 1 Curtain material—**B.** Other. (30 p.c.) [70]. 2. Mosquito netting. **B.** Other. (30 p.c.) [70]. 3. Veilings. Wholly or partly of silk. (680.00 or **A.** 45 p.c.) [55]. **B.** Other. (30 p.c.) [70]. 5 Other. **A.** Wholly or partly of silk. (45 p.c.) [55].
- 308 Embroidered fabrics. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 319 Waterproof fabrics, coated with, or with layers of india rubber: 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 320 Elastic webbing and elastic cords, elastic braids or the like: 1. Exceeding 8 cm. in width—**A.** Partly of silk (148.00 or 40 p.c.) [60]. 2. Other. **A.** Woven. **a.** Partly of silk. (40 p.c.) [60]. **B.** Other. Partly of silk. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 324 Handkerchiefs, single: 2. Of linen. (83.70 or 35 p.c.) [65]. 4. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 327 Travelling rugs, single: 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (232.00 or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 328 Rugs and carpets: 1. Wholly or partly of wool—**A.** Woven with piles—[1] Having piles composed of a warp or weft of one system—**a.** With cut piles. (36.00 or 30 p.c.) [70]. **b.** Other. (21.40 or 30 p.c.) [70]. 2 Other—**a.** With cut piles. (44.50 or 30 p.c.) [70]. **b.** Other. (17.20 or 30 p.c.) [70]. **B.** Of felt. (17.10 or 30 p.c.) [70].
- 329 Table cloths, single: 2. Of linen or of cotton and linen. (80.00 or 40 p.c.) [60]. 4. Wholly or partly of silk, combined with metal threads or embroidered. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 330 Curtains and window shades: 2. Wholly or partly of silk, combined with metal threads or embroidered. (50 p.c.) [50]. 3. Other **A.** Of lace. (39.50 or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 331 Trimmings: 1. Ribbons, laces, edgings, tapes, galloons, cords, braids and the like. **A.** Wholly or partly of silk or combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory or tortoise shell. (50 p.c.) [50.] **B.** Combined with imitation precious stones, glass heads, base metals, etc. (40 p.c.) [60.] **C.** Other. **a.** Darned, embroidered or of lace work. (40 p.c.) [60.] **b.** Other. (30 p.c.) [70.] 2. Other, such as tassels, knots, loops, stars, etc. **A.** Wholly or partly of silk or combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory. or tortoise shell. (50 p.c.) [50.] **B.** Other. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 332 Air cushions: 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (315.00 50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Others. (123.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.]
- 336 Bed quilts and cushions: 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50.]

- 343 Manufactures of fabrics not otherwise provided for: 1. Wholly or partly of silk or combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory or tortoise shell or embroidered. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 344 Raincoats: 1. Wholly or partly of silk (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 345 Shirts, shirt fronts, collars and cuffs. (134.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.]
- 346 Undershirts and drawers: 1 Knitted. C. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 347 Cloves: 1. Of leather. (450.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 2. Of leather and other materials, except silk. (179.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 3. Of cotton, of linen, of cotton and linen, of wool or of wood and cotton. (226.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 4. Wholly or partly of silk. (949.00 or 50 p.c.) [50.] 5. Other. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 348 Stockings and socks: 1 Of linen, of cotton and linen, of wool or wool and cotton. (138.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 2. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50.] 3. Other (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 349 Shawls, comforters and mufflers: 1. Mufflers---A. Of silk. (853.00 or 50 p.c.) [50]. B. Partly of silk. (530.00 or 5 p.c.) 50. C. Other. (40 p.c.) [60]. 2. Other A. Of cotton, of linen, of China grass or of wool or of wool and cotton. (159.00 or 40 p.c.) [60]. B. Of silk. (750.00 or 50 p.c.) [50]. C. Partly of silk, except those combined with fur or feathers. (400.00 or 50 p.c.) [50]. D. Wholly or partly of fur or feathers. (50 p.c.) [50]. E. Other. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 350 Neckties: 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (11.40 or 50 p.c.) [50]. 2. Other (3.55 per 1 kin or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 351 Suspenders: 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (454.00 or 50 p.c.) [50]. 2. Other. (102.00 or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 352 Belts: 1. Made of or combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls or coral. (50 p.c.) [50]. 2. Other. A. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50]. B. Of leather (40 p.c.) [60]. C. Other. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 353 Sleeve holders, garters and the like: 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50]. 2. Of metal. (40 p.c.) [60]. 3. Other. (178.00 or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 335 Boots, slippers, sandals, clogs and the like. I. Boots. A. Of leather. (135.00 or 40 p.c.) [60]. C. Other (40 p.c.) [60]. 2. Shoes. A. Of leather (135.00 or 40 p.c.) [60]. Of canvas or duck. a. With leather sole. (86.70 or 40 p.c.) [60]. b. Other. (57.80 or 40 p.c.) [60]. C. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50] D. Other. (40 p.c.) [60]. 3. Chinese shoes. A. Wholly or partly of silk. (62.50 or 50 p.c.) [50] B. Other. (30.70 or 40 p.c.) [60]. 5. Slippers. A. Of leather. (119.00 or 40 p.c.) [60]. B. Of fabric. 1. Wholly or partly of silk. (50 p.c.) [50]. [20] Of felt. a. With leather sole. (78.40 or 40 p.c.) [60] b. Other. (40 p.c.) [60]. 3. Other. (40 p.c.) [60]. 6 Other. (40 p.c.) [60].
- 356 Shoe laces. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 359 Jewelry for personal adornment. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 360 Clothing and accessories or parts thereof, not otherwise provided for: 1. Wholly or partly of fur, feathers, or made of or combined or trimmed with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory or tortoise shell or embroidered. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 373 Imitation parchment, paraffin paper waxed paper. 1. Covered with, or with application of, metal foil or metal powder embossed or printed. (3.85 or 25 p.c.) [75.]
- 378 Paper, not otherwise provided for. 1. Covered with, or with application of, foil or powder of precious metal. (30 p.c.) [70.] B. Other. (10.90 or 25 p.c.) [75.] 2. Coloured on the surface. A. Embossed. (5.30 or 25 p.c.) [75.] B. Other. (3.30 or 15 p.c.) [85.] 3. Printed. A. Embossed (5.30 or 25 p.c.) [75]. B. Other. 4.

- Other A. Craped or crinkled. (12.70 or 25 p.c.) [75.] B. Other. (25 p.c.) [75.]
- 379 Paper laces and paper horders. 1. Covered with, or with application of, metal foil, or metal powder. (37.80 or 25 p.c.) [75.] 2. Other. (9.50 or 25 p.c.) [75.]
- 384 Albums. 1. With leather covers. (50 p.c.) [50.] 2. With cloth covers. A. Wholly or partly of silk. (48.90 or 50 p.c.) [50.] B. Other. (20.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 3. With paper covers. (15.30 or 40 p.c.) [60.]
- 390 Playing cards. (113.000 or 60 p.c.) [40.]
- 391 Photographs. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 392 Caligraphies and pictures. 1. Printed (39.30 or 50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Other. (free) [100.]
- 393 Card calendars and block calendars. (30 p.c.) [70.]
- 394 Picture post cards. (32.40 or 50 p.c.) [50.]
- 395 Christmas cards and the like. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 412 Precious stones. (5 p.c.) [95.]
- 413 Semi-precious stones and manufactures thereof not otherwise provided for. 1. Neither cut nor polished (20 p.c.) [80.] 2. Other. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 414 Stones and manufactures thereof, not otherwise provided for. 2. Other. B. Other. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 415 Amber and manufacturerf thereof not otherwise provided for. 1. Rough. (20 p.c.) [80.] 2. Other. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 417 Meerscham or artificial meerscham and manufactures thereof. 1. Rough. (20 p.c.) [80.] 2. Other (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 424 Manufactures of gypsum. Human or animal images. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 439 Pottery not otherwise provided for, except glass. 1. Combined with precious metals or metals coated with precious metals. (50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Other. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 453 Spectacles and eyeglasses. 1. With frames or handles of precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, ivory or tortoise shell. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 454 Looking glasses or mirrors. 1. Combined with precious metals or metals coated with precious metals. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 457 Glass manufactures not otherwise provided for. 1. Comined with precious metals or metals coated with precious metals. (50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Other (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 475 Gilt or silvered metals. 1 Gilt wire. (194.00 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 2. Silvered wire. (81.60 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 3. Other (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 489 Chains, not otherwise provided for. 1. Made of, or combined or coated with precious metals. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 491 Chains for watches, spectacles, eyeglasses, or other personal adornment. 1. Of gold or platinum. (50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Gilt (18.00 per kin or 50 p.c.) [50.] 3. Other. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 493 Hinges, hat hooks, and metal fittings for doors, windows, furniture, etc. 1. Made of, or combined or coated with, precious metals. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 494 Locks and keys. 1. Made of, or combined or coated with precious metals. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 499 Cutlery, not otherwise provided for. 1. Made of, or combined or coated with precious metals. 2. Other. A. Pocket knives. a. With handles made of, or combined with, ivory, coral or tortoise shell or enamelled. (20.50 per hundred or 50 p.c.) [50.] B. Table knives. a. With handles made of or combined with ivory, coral, or tortoise shell or enamelled. (47.40 or 50 p.c.) [50.]
- 500 Table forks or spoons. 1. Made of, or combined or coated with, precious metals. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 521 Manufactures of precious metals and metal manufactures combined or coated with precious metals, not otherwise provided for. (50 p.c.) [50.]

- 526 Watches. 1. With gold or platinum cases. A. Not exceeding 40 mm. in diameter. a. With cylinder escapements. (10.50) b. Other. (10.90.) B. Other. a. With cylinder escapements. (10.50). b. Other (10.90).
- 527 Parts of watches. 1. Cases, including those provided with crystals. A. Of gold or platinum. a. Not exceeding 40 mm. in diameter (10.50 each or 50 p.c.) [50] b. Other. (15.00 each or 50 p.c.) [50.]
- 528 Standing clocks. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 533 Opera and field glasses, binocular and monocular, combined with precious metals, or metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory, or tortoise shell. 1. With prisms. (15.00 per kin or 30 p.c.; Conv.—France—10.00) [70.] 2. Other. (3.00 per kin or 30 p.c.; Conv.—France—2.500) [70.]
- 553 Photographic instruments, fitted with lenses of a focal length of below 17 cm., or with a perspective below 16 cm. long or below 11 cm. wide (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 554 Parts of photographic instruments. 1. Lenses with a focal length of below 17 cm. (30 p.c.) [70.] 2. Other. Cameras with a perspective below 16 cm. long or below 11 cm. wide. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 555 Phonographs, gramophones, and other talking machines. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 556 Parts and accessories of phonographs, gramophones and other talking machines. 1. Disks or cylinders for music. A. With music thereon. (74.30 or 50 p.c.) [50.] B. Other. (57.40 or 40 p.c.) [60.] 2. Other. (50 p.c.) [50.]
- 560 Firearms and parts thereof. 1. Rifles. (740 each or 40 p.c.) [60.]
- 612 Wood 1 Simply cut, sawed or split. A. Kwarin, tagayasan (barysulum rufum, lour), tsuge or boxwood, red or rose wood, red sandalwood and ebony, excluding white streaked ebony. (50 or 15 p.c.) [85.] 2. Other. C. Other. Kwarin, tagayasan (barysulum rufum, lour) tsuge, or boxwood, red sandalwood and ebony, excluding white streaked ebony. (25 p.c.) [75.]
- 624 Umbrella sticks, walking sticks, whips and handles therefor. 1. Made of, or combined with, precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory or tortoise shell. (50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Other. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 625 Umbrellas and parasols. 1. Wholly or partly of silk (50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Other. (40 p.c.) [60.]
- 626 Wood manufactures, not otherwise provided for. 1. Combined with precious metals, metals coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory, or tortoise shell. (50 p.c.) [50.] 2. Other A. Of kwarin, tagayasan (barysulum rufum, lour), tsuge or boxwood, red or rosewood, red sandalwood and ebony. (13.10 or 40 p.c.) [60.]
- 634 Brushes and brooms. 1. Combined with precious metals, metals, ivory or tortoise shell (50 p.c.) [50].
- 636 Photographic films, excepting moving picture films. 1. Sensitized, including inner packing. (1.00 per kin or 40 p.c.) [60.] 2. Developed, including inner packing. (8.25 or 40 p.c.) [60].
- 638 Artificial flowers, including imitation leaves, imitation fruits, etc., and parts thereof. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 639 Toilet cases. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 640 Articles for billiards, cricket, chess and other games and accessories thereof, excluding those for tennis, baseball and foot ball. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 641 Toys. (50 p.c.) [50].
- 647 Articles not otherwise provided for. 2. Other. A. Combined with precious metals, coated with precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, coral, ivory or tortoise shell. (50 p.c.) [50].

On the Japanese American Relations

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Year before last I had the fortune of giving a series of lectures to a distinguished American audience at the Institute of Politics, Williamstown, Mass. These lectures have since been published in book form by the Yale University Press. First of all, let me quote a somewhat lengthy extract from my own lectures.

"In international relations, just as in the relations between individuals, there occur from time to time differences which cannot be easily reconciled. Sometimes refuge is sought in ascribing such differences to misunderstanding in order to avoid pushing the controversy to the extreme or to save the face of the contending parties. Such a misunderstanding may be designated as fake, or, perhaps more appropriately, conventional. It is not of such a misunderstanding that I am presently going to speak, but a genuine misunderstanding—misunderstanding pure and simple—arising from innocent ignorance or unconscious lack of sympathetic consideration which each side ought to bestow on the psychological attitude of the other.

"In the intercommunication and interpenetration of modern States, disputes, misunderstandings, claims and counter-claims are inevitable. They ought to be, and can be, settled amicably in the spirit of conciliation, compromise, and friendly give-and-take. As a prerequisite condition no efforts should be spared for minimizing the chance of the occurrence of misunderstanding. There should be not only mutual understanding, but, in addition, a determination not to misunderstand. Such a task falls upon the shoulders of leaders, to be found in every nation, who will refuse to accept misunderstanding, who will always credit the other side with having some good reasons which have not as yet been made clear, and who will constantly go out of their way to find explanations and to exercise forbearance.

"It is trite to say that the greatest barrier in the mutually beneficial intercourse between Japan and the English-speaking countries is the language. Thanks to the disinterested labors of men like Williams, Hepburn, Brown, Verbeck, Satow, Aston, Gubbins, Chamberlain, and others, a good start was made in the arduous task of removing this barrier. And since the days of these pioneers, big strides have been made in the direction of diffusing and disseminating the knowledge of English through all the strata of the Japanese people. There are optimists who go even so far as to think of Japan becoming in the near future a bi-linguistic country, the second languages being English. Nevertheless, paradoxical as it may sound on first hearing, there is nowadays a far greater chance of misunderstanding due to the difference of language than in days gone by. In old days, both sides were psychologically prepared for the frequent occurrence of such misunderstandings and were always on the alert to spare no effort for clearing them up. Whereas nowadays the illusion is rampant that there is no such hinderance to the communication of thought and idea, and that, even if it does exist, it can be easily overcome. Unawares, we are liable to be caught in the trap of misunderstanding and stay there without our knowing all the time. That such an illusion is altogether unwarrantable may be illustrated by a few examples."

So far is the extract. Let me only narrate a personal experience which occurred during my stay in Williamstown. One day an American lady asked me. "How do you like Williamstown?" I answered promptly with an expression I had often used before: "I like it, I feel so homely here in Williamstown." With Rooseveltian frankness, my kind lady friend told me that "homely" means something quite different from what I had

obviously in my mind. For the first time, I was made aware of the awkward mistake I had been making throughout the major part of my pretty long life in the use of this comely sounding word.

The days when we were after the attainable unity of meaning in the diversity of language are long gone by and we are now living in the days when the utmost care should be bestowed on the diversity of the delicate shades of meaning in the unity of language achievable by translation. In the intercourse of nations speaking different languages, we must never lose sight of the paramount influence which the language barrier all the time exercises in obstructing mutual understanding. The only remedy for this which I can see consists in returning to the cautious attitude of the bygone days and keeping ourselves aloof from arriving at hasty conclusions.

Two years ago while I was composedly writing these warnings, I did not once dream that we would so soon actually meet with such a monstrously unfortunate instance of misunderstanding as that arising out of the use of the words "grave consequence." No words can adequately express the regret which stung me to the quick. At the same time. I have to confess candidly that my regret was not unmingled with something akin to satisfaction in seeing that the occurrence of such a misunderstanding was forewarned and in thinking that a misunderstanding coming from the barrier of language can sometimes be cleared up by cautiously following the mental steps which unconsciously led to the use of the words in question on the part of the writer and by tracings simultaneously the psychological sequences which culminated in the deplorable misunderstanding on the part of the reader.

On the authority of no less a person than the Minister for Foreign Affairs, we know positively that no specific instructions were sent Ambassador Hanihara regarding the note he addressed to Secretary Hughes on April 10th, but that he was acting under the general instructions given him by the Foreign Office. Now, whether or not this general instruction contained the words "judainaru kekka"

which is the original of the phrase in question, is, taken all round, of no great significance. There is no doubt whatever that the enactment of a measure including the exclusion clause, would eventually lead to wiping out the traditional friendship between Japan and the United States of the three quarters of a century standing, fostered in its cradle stage by Townsend Harris, America's first accredited representative and Japan's "the nation's friend," so happily consolidated not long ago by the Washington Conference, and further cemented but recently by the spontaneous generosity shown by the American people after the earthquake disaster of last autumn. In trying to designate such a deplorable effect of appalling magnitude concisely, it is only natural that the phrase "judainaru kekka" suggests itself. Indeed it is the phrase which just fits in and for which it would be hard to find any alternative. Thus irrespective of whether or not the general instruction sent by Foreign Office explicitly said "judainaru kekka," it is but natural that this phrase was present in the mind of whoever wrote the draft of the note in question. Now it so happens that the nearest English equivalent of this term, as ingenuously though out, cannot possibly be other than "grave consequences."

It is true that, in diplomatic perplance, the words "grave consequences" not seldom meant strained relations which may eventually lead to war, if not war itself. That the phrase savours more or less of bellicose allusion as heard or read by some people is undoubtedly due to historical associations. However, that no such ominous interpretation could possibly be attributed to the words as they appeared in the first Hanihara note of April 10th, must have been at once evident from the emtext and the tone and tenor of the whole document. Any one who would care to peruse the note without any preconception would clearly see that the use of the phrase in this instance has not the remotest connection with a break in diplomatic relations, unhappy as its choice may have been, and that it could only mean such a

thing as the complete annihilation of Japan's faith in America's sense of right, justice and fair-play. It need hardly be said that the note was written in the spirit and endeavor to leave no stone unturned in clearing up beyond the slightest shadow of doubt Japan's views and intention on the whole question of immigration. The vital essence of the note was the disclosure of the true inwardness of the Gentlemen's Agreement, about which, for some time past, there has been cropping up nebulous complaints because of the halo of secrecy attaching to it. To this were adjoined the manifestation of Japan's willingness to discuss the amendment or modification of the "Agreement" whenever America so desires, and the oft-repeated assurance of Japan having not the slightest intention of questioning the sovereign right of any country to regulate immigration to its own territory.

There exists a conjecture that, if there were no such incident as was caused by the unhappy verbiage, most probably a majority of the Senate would have been opposed to the passage of the exclusion clause. On the other hand, we are told on the authority of the Chairman of the House Immigration Committee that long before the note was written, the exclusion provision was assured of passage through the Senate. In such a matter of conjecture, it is always better to err on the side of safety; so let us accept the latter hypothesis. Even then, as we positively know, there were a substantial minority of the Senate who would have opposed the adoption of the exclusion amendment if not for the note under the fire of comments. And, in that case, there would have been by far the greater chance of the President vetoing the immigration bill. Thus whatever may be said either for or against the action of the Senate, there remains the indisputable fact that this substantial minority were almost completely wiped out overnight as if by magic. The cause of this catastrophic change is to be found nowhere except in the ire created by the sight of that unlucky phrase "grave consequences."

Now, it seems desirable, at any rate for the benefit of future use, to find some phrase which might be put in place of "grave consequences" and which retains all the force and vigor of emphasis and the far-reaching significance of the original and which is free from the danger of extraneous implications such as threat. By way of trial a large number of phrases were formed by coupling one of the adjectives like "grave," "momentous," "serious," "weighty" and "calamitous" with one of the substantives like "result," "consequence," "effect," "influence" and "issue." They were found, one and all, excepting as a matter of course the original combination, not to satisfy the required conditions. In my rambling through the wilderness of phrase hunting I came across with "consequences of grave importance," which is perchance the nearest approach to the phrase we are after. If not for official documents, we might use the original "grave consequence," followed by the annotation in bracket that the phrase does not mean war. As the last resort, I was finally driven to querying myself why not use the Japanese phrase "judainaru kekka" itself, just as, I believe, Latin or French words are not seldom used in diplomatic correspondence written in English. I hope, I have made it clear that, in the natural course of things, "grave consequences" is the only phrase which could have been used in the present case, there being no other choice. If any one has a doubt on this point, let him be reminded of his own experience of a futile search for an alternative of a word which, for some reason or other, he might have wished to avoid, ending in going along a vicious circle.

No sooner than the flashing news of the tragic incident began to reverberate across the Pacific, it was suggested and indeed suggested with best intention that the Japanese Embassy in Washington lacks an indispensable instrument consisting of one or more competent American advisers, whose function is the supervision and giving final finish to all the documents and correspondence written in English which issue forth from the Embassy. Now the

very fact that Secretary Hughes, on receipt of the first Hanihara note, immediately and without the slightest hesitation, sent its copies, as well as the copies of his own note acknowledging the concurrence of views, shows that the State Department, on reading the words "grave consequences" discerned nothing like a threat either expressed or implied. Thus, even if we had the State Department for the proposed instrument, at any rate in the present instance, it would have been powerless to prevent the occurrence of the most regrettable incident in the whole course of intercourse between the two countries.

Any one who takes the trouble of reading with scrupulous circumspection the Hanihara note of April 10th, would have no difficulty in perceiving between the lines the painstaking care with which the note seems to have been prepared, so as not to produce an unpleasant impression, not to say an oppressive feeling, on the mind of those readers for whom the note was evidently intended, though addressed to the Secretary of State. Merely for the sake of illustration, it may be noted that the word "susceptibilities" is used in several places, where it might have been replaced by the word "pride." In a single instance only, where effrontery is altogether out of question, the word "pride" is used solely to relieve the monotony of repetition. Taken all round and duly taking into consideration that the subject with which the note deals is one of the knottiest and thorniest to be found in the whole range of diplomacy and would have taxed the patience and strained the nerve of the ablest of the diplomats of all times, it would be no exaggeration to say that, intrinsically considered, the note as a diplomatic writing was a success. That it has done an almost irreparable mischief is not a natural fault of its own but is the well nigh inevitable outcome of the circumstantial conditions.

The note was manifestly written in an atmosphere where anything like the apprehension of war was altogether out of thought and under the firm conviction that the whole wide world would never have

believed that the United States had been coerced by any foreign country. Even without the explanation contained in the second note of April 17th, it is clear that the original note was free from the trace of a threat, veiled or otherwise. Indeed the sudden swing of the Senate away from its time-honored position of mature deliberation and dignified self-esteem, and, particularly, the unlooked for change, like lightening, in the attitude of those Senators who were previously known to be opposed to the Shortridge amendment, said to have been caused by this illstarred note, is really incomprehensible and will most likely long remain a mystery.

It is cruel to speak either of the note itself or of the act of sending it to Congress as costly blunders, as was done in some quarter in the early days when the full text of the note had not yet reached this side of the Pacific. Nevertheless, we know as a fait accompli that mischief was done.

An error was committed in properly gauging the inflammability of the psychological atmosphere which seems to have pervaded the Senate at that particular instant when a copy of the note reached the Capitol. That it was an error of judgment and not of intention makes after all no material difference. Seen in the light of subsequent development and judged by the tangible fact that a certain number, large or small, of the Senators previously known to have been friendly to the Japanese cause, were suddenly estranged, as some of them, like the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, have explicitly and unequivocally declared, by the note or, more concretely speaking, by the insertion in the note of the words which sounded like a threat, the sending of the note was certainly a failure. History shows, however, that there are many instances where failure served as a vanguard of success. There are even cases where failure was the only road to success. Let us hope that the failure in the present instance belongs to the same category. It is true that the whole matter was muddled into a tangle from which, to all appearance, there is no great hope of extricating itself.

However, all this is a thing of the past. Only, let us not despair. Let us remind ourselves of two buckets in a well. Let us cheer up in thinking that a joyful evening may follow a sorrowful morn. Let us not give up our hope of good coming out of evil. True, it is a hope apparently fading as days wear on, but not forlorn. This hope springing, as it does, from our unwavering faith in the fairness of the American mind, which can be eclipsed but not destroyed, stubbornly refuses to die. And who knows that the whole immigration problem was not preordained to pass through some such critical stage before it sees the light of a happy solution satisfactory to both countries. Time may yet arrive when the author of the note would fain admire the wisdom of the saying that mutability is the irrevocable lot of a man and all his work. Meanwhile let us not forget to appreciate not only the firm stand taken by Secretary Hughes against gratuitously insulting Japan but even more, were it only possible, the attitude of Mr. Charles E. Hughes who, true to his ideals of honor, is not willing to let Ambassador Hanihara alone shoulder the whole responsibility for the "grave consequences" affair.

In the foregoing, I have tried to analyse and discuss what may perhaps, for the sake of brevity, be called the "grave consequences" incident from the point of view which is essentially our own. I have now to swerve from this position and, true to the dictates of my own warning cited at the beginning of this article, make my supreme effort in trying to see this same incident from the diametrically opposite point of view. Before so doing, however, I wish to make a slight digression in order to put on record a few of the flashing impressions which happened to cross my mind while I was writing the preceding lines.

As regards racial discrimination, we are often told that it is not a question of inferiority but merely a question of something else, of which there seems to be several versions though not essentially different from one another. When such a remark emanates from the mouth of a

man of some importance on the other side of the Pacific, somehow or other, it is considered worth cabling to Japan in spite of the exorbitantly high Pacific rates which justly merit serious grievances. Then it appears in the prominent columns of dailies published on this side of the Pacific. There are some newspapers which go even to the length of inserting it in a specially framed space. Now let us assume that the admonition was given with the best intention and in a bona fide spirit. Even then, there is no such remark like this that produces a more peculiarly unpleasant, even painful, impression—an impression, the nearest approach to which may perhaps be the queer sensation which some people experience in a dream by soaring high up in the air to be dropped down at any moment to the bottomless abyss—on the mind of average intellectuals among the Japanese whom it is evidently intended to console. The silence on the part of a Japanese which usually greets such talk from his American friend, is a cover for his inner struggle to push this painful feeling to the remotest recess of his heart. Sometimes refuge is sought in turning the subject of conversation to some other channel of thought. It need hardly be added that all this apparent incongruity is due not to the difference of racial psychology but to the difference of psychology between one who apologizes and one to whom the apology is made. Trivial as this observation may appear, I have deemed it desirable if not necessary to speak out once for all and speak out plainly our thought in regard to this remark, as I believe it has never been done before, in order to nip in the bud the chance of this difference of psychology becoming a tiny nucleus of some untoward big incident like the one we have just witnessed.

To be singled out from among all the civilized nations and stigmatized as unworthy and undesirable in the eyes of the whole world, is more than we as a nation can endure. We are, however, fully conscious of our own defects and weaknesses, of our inferiority in one way or

the other compared with the most advanced nations of the world. Japan knows that she has a formidable task before her in catching up with the enlightenment and progress of these countries, which are not halting but are ever moving onward with a pace that baffles Japan's most optimistic hope of overtaking them. To be told frankly and plainly that the present-day Japan is inferior in this or that respect is the advice which she prefers far more to the remark just commented upon, to say nothing of her ardent desire of welcoming such advice. It stimulates her to make further efforts for bettering herself. Japan knows that gratitude only is due to such advice. Surely Japan does not deserve the insinuation of her having a so called swelled head which the enemies of Japan as well as of the noble cause of the federation of mankind are fond of making. Japan detests from the core of her heart even the slightest trace of self-complacency.

Even among the most notorious of the politicians and agitators who are leaving no stone unturned for excluding Japanese, we ought to be prepared to recognize some whose sincerity which is no more or less than the coincidence of what one openly says and what he really thinks, cannot be challenged. They are usually the so-called men of one purpose and one prejudice. We may have reasons for pitying their narrow-mindedness. At the same time, we must not forget to be broad-minded enough to appreciate their manliness in upholding the belief that, by persisting in their anti-Japanese attitude, they are acting in the interest of their own country and people. Such a manliness appeals to our national character which we inherited from our fathers and forefathers. One of the most vehement champions of the exclusion cause is reported to have said that placing the Japanese on a quota basis is based on the ground that such inclusion would admit Japan's claim of racial equality, which is the real crux of the situation, and, therefore, the inclusion of such a provision in the immigration bill should be opposed by all means. Let us be equally courageous and straight-

forward and frankly say that because of exactly the same reason we persist in our claim of being put on the same status as the most advanced nations of the world.

I now go on to the study of the "grave consequences" incident from the would-be American standpoint which means in this instance the would-be point of view of the American Senate. Let me premise that I have no idea of belittling the difficulties with which one will be beset in trying to see things in the light of the psychology other than his own. Nor am I not conscious of the result coming out far short of my most sanguine expectation.

World domination was the pre-war Germany's coveted object, for which she waged the war, staked her everything and failed miserably. Fate decreed that it is to be not Germany but the United States of America who without her seeking emerged out of the World capital the most powerful nation of all. History shows that the greatest calamities of mankind are caused by the concentration of power in one place and the struggle of this power with all the rest of the world. Now why we were not at all awestricken in the present instance was, to begin with, because of the sight of this power circumscribed by Wilsonian idealism. It is not a question of the form of government. A democracy can be just as arrogant as any other form of government. As Governor McCall of Massachusetts once pointed out, the cry "safe for democracy" should read "for safe democracy." Now the Wilsonian idealism is gone, forever or for the time being no one knows. And yet we do not feel much uneasiness, because we are still convinced of this power being caged in the ideals and the ultimate sense of justice and humanity of the American people.

It is not to be denied that no country can claim immunity from the love of power and wealth and temptation to pride. A State which preaches justice and humanity is just as capable of extravagant self-esteem and arrogance as any others. During the course of the violent anti-Wilson campaign, while the so-called six-votes problem was being fervently discussed, an influential Senator was reported to

have said: "The real power of America is such in international politics that anything may be accomplished by her. Any opposition raised by America will be equal in its effect to that of all other Powers combined." I, for one, believe there is a great deal of truth in this utterance. Furthermore, any one would be more than human if he could rid himself the consciousness of the power he possesses. I have recalled this incident as I thought it would give a very instructive lesson for showing that even a man of mature judgment placed in a responsible position is capable of rising to such a high pitch of excitement as to burst forth in such an unguarded effusion. It is not the incident itself but its psychological aspect which merits our close attention.

It is a curse of Modernity that an average intellectual in every civilized country is nowadays insisted upon to read ever more and more, and indeed far more than he can actually read. To coerce some one to read more than he can read even working twenty four hours a day is far more cruel than to make one eat who does not want to eat, giving him just cause for envying the lot of somebody else who need only work eight hours a day. Refuge is sought in the cosmopolitan haste, one of the innumerable results of which is the giving of far more attention to the headlines than to the contents on the part of both the newspaper editors and the reading public. The habit thus acquired by daily practice is liable to lead to a mentality of unconsciously looking for some outstanding words or phrases and, if found, putting undue stress on such words or phrases, even in perusing something else than newspapers, particularly when it is to be done in haste.

It would not be hard to imagine the unenviable plight of some of the Senators who, besieged days and nights by hosts of friends and foes of the exclusion cause, must have had to struggle with great difficulties in analysing conflicting views and opinions and in digesting facts and figures which may have been distorted one way or another. Those senators would have been more than human, if they could

have been entirely free from excitement, not to say of nervousness. The abrupt change of the psychological atmosphere of the Senate on receiving the note was described in manifold ways, like a gust of temper, a burst of petulance, a fit of pique, and what not. No doubt the impression made, differed from individual to individual. The average or the sum total seems to have been an excitement tinged with irritation caused by the flashing thought derived from the myopic vision of an impertinence in the note.

There seem to have been many causes, mostly unknown to us except a few enumerated in the above, which contributed toward bringing the psychological condition of the senatorial atmosphere to such a point of excitability. As I said before, the sudden swing of the Senate from its position prior to the receiving of the note, will long remain a mystery. The mystery, however, does not lie in the mere fact that the Senate brusquely changed its attitude, which is quite thinkable. The mystery lies in the causes unknown which contributed toward bringing the psychological atmosphere to such a degree of excitability. It is a matter to be greatly regretted that there was only such a short time between the receiving of the note and the fateful afternoon of April 15th when the Shortridge amendment was passed by a unanimous viva voce vote, during which interval the psychological atmosphere of the Senate seems to have been completely swayed by the flashing impression produced by the first shock, leaving no chance whatever for reconsideration. We have to take to heart the realisation that the preservation of amicable relation between the two countries in the future depends as much upon the United States rightly interpreting Japanese psychology as upon Japan unerringly understanding American psychology.

On the wake of the excitement aroused by the first news of the incident, there appeared an editorial in an American daily published in Tokyo, wherein it was said that Senator Lodge is a man who can never forgive that he is but Chairman of the Foreign Relation Committee and not

Secretary of State. I believe, it was solely because the writer was not a countryman of our own that such lines were ever written. I have no doubt that there are many in this country who shared with me an awkward sensation repugnant to their sentiment when their eyes fell on these lines. Such an insinuation is repulsive to our sense of propriety. In vindicating Senator Lodge, I have, as a vulgar expression says, no axe to grind. I have nothing in common with Senator Lodge, save, perhaps, that he and I are both ardent admirers of Alexander Hamilton. I know that Senator Lodge belongs to that category of men who have as many, if not more, inveterate enemies as staunch friends. But that he is a man far beyond the shadow of such base motive, is to my mind testified by the very fact that he has so long represented the "Cradle of American Liberty." It hardly needs mentioning that personal remark favorable or unfavorable is something which should be avoided as far as possible, the less said so much the better. None the less, I have dared to say all this, as I thought that, considered as a psychological phenomenon, it may not be wholly uninteresting.

Again, it was said—this time unfortunately by a countryman of ours—that the whole thing cannot but lend itself to a hypothesis that the Senators were looking for some plea to get excited, and insinuations and misrepresentations were so engineered as to ensnare Ambassador Hanihara into committing himself with words that could be turned into an effective weapon by them. Such an accusation, even if it be only a theory, can never be excused. To say that the accredited representative of one's own country is capable of being entrapped by any manoeuvre, however ingenious, is a positive insult to his own country, even if we pass over the greater insult given to the legislators of a friendly country. Not only must we not say or write any such absurd things, but such an idea should never occur to our mind, and, if it does occur, we must be careful to suppress it instantly. It may further be observed in

passing that, in a situation as serious and delicate as at the present moment, worn-out platitudes and hollow generalities can do only harm. One should not speak at all unless he has something constructive to say.

At this juncture, so far as I can think of, there is one and only one man, who is neither an American nor a Japanese, whom I should like to consult. And that is the late Lord Bryce. Now that he is no more, to any one who is deeply interested in the Americo-Japanese problem, I can only recommend the perusal of Bryce's monumental work "American Commonwealth," and if he had done it before, to read it once more. I wish he would read not only what stands in black and white but read between the lines the wonderful painstaking of this ablest student of American psychology and think over what Lord Bryce might have said, had he been alive today. Some days ago, there appeared an able article in the *Jiji* under a nom de plume, unknown to me whose author I presume to be no other than the correspondent of the Four-Power Treaty fame. Many things which I should have liked to say in this connection are told in this article in a far more attractive style than I can ever aspire to attain.

On the occasion of his flying visit to Japan in 1913, Lord Bryce gave a few of our statesmen some invaluable advice. Let me again quote a few passages from my own Lectures. "He (Lord Bryce) said that sometimes in America popular feeling rises very high, that England can never go to war with America, and, so, nothing is left but to remain silent and patiently wait till the clamor subsides. He further added that it is an enviable feature of American conditions that meanwhile we never wait in vain for the arrival in due course of time of some one whose sense of justice and fair play leads to an amicable and equitable settlement of the complications which might at a certain stage or moment have appeared almost insuperable."

An aspect of a somewhat similar feature of American mentality viewed from an

entirely different angle seems to be embodied in the following lines to be found in Bryce's "American Commonwealth": "It is natural for them (the Americans) to believe in their star. And this sanguine temper makes them tolerant of evils which they regard as transitory, removable as soon as time can be found to root them up."

The above considerations seem to furnish a suitable background for examining the proposal of the so-called Joint High Commission. It is true that in this country there are a few ardent advocates of this proposal. In fact, a far greater number of people are querying why this proposal has met with such a poor response from the other side of the Pacific. Now let us recall some of the differences which were settled in bygone days by an instrument called "Joint High Commission." They were the differences concerning the "Alabama" claims, fishery questions on the Atlantic coast, the coastal trade on the St. Lawrence River and the five Great Lakes, free transit of goods over the boundary of the United States and Canada, boundaries between the United States and Canada, and irritating conditions at the boundaries, not the boundaries themselves, between the United States and Mexico. They are one and all clearly differences in the relation of one independent country to another, entirely free from any doubt or implication as to their being domestic questions of either country. Thanks to the existence of the Pacific Ocean, there is no such difference pending between Japan and the United States.

To forestall any possible misunderstanding, let us designate such differences as those just spoken of as "external". Now it would not be hard to understand the American psychology, nurtured by historical associations, of unconsciously viewing the proposal of the Joint High Commission as something tending toward pushing the internal question of immigration into the category of external differences. For reasons, the elucidation of which will take too much space and is therefore reserved for some future op-

portunity. I, for one, believe that this proposal of the Joint High Commission is not at all practicable. Even hypothetically assuming that it is practicable, we must call it by some name other than "Joint Commission," which does not carry with it the opprobrium of mixing up internal and external questions. Even granting that the proposal is feasible it appears to me that the present is the least favorable moment for making such a proposal. As long as the proposal remains academic or subject of talk between private individuals, we may let it go its own way unhampered. Once the proposal receives the really earnest attention of the Japanese Government, or the slightest sign of the State Department being approached on the subject even in a cautious way, appears on the horizon, there looms the possibility of the State Department being put in an awkward and very embarrassing position. If the proposal, as it now stands, is pushed on too energetically, there is a fear of its leading to a second "grave consequences" incident.

The question of the St. Lawrence waterway now being discussed seems to furnish a very instructive lesson. When the Canadian Government notified Washington of its desire to appoint a national advisory committee, the United States at once suggested that it should appoint a similar committee, eventually leading to the calling into being of the joint committee consisting of three representatives nominated by the Canadian Government and three by the United States. For the success of a proposal regarding matters between two countries, such a responsiveness and spontaneity like the echo following a sound on the part of the party to which the proposal is made, is necessary. Overzeal on one side and indifference if not apathy on the other are not conducive to the maturing of a scheme concerning two parties. Indeed they may do some positive harm instead of composing differences. The question of the St. Lawrence waterway and the immigration problem are, needless to say, utterly different in their nature. They belong to

entirely different categories of question. And yet there are certain aspects of the questions, in which one cannot fail to notice a striking similarity. In particular, that aspect common to both that they are pregnant with significances far deeper than the matter-of-fact views might suggest, seems to merit our profound meditation.

It is true that no question is ever settled until it is settled right. For all this, however, it would require time. Meanwhile, it may happen that we have to content ourselves with some makeshift arrangement. Even then, there seems to be really no novel method of arriving at such an arrangement except through the ordinary channels of diplomacy. Now I believe, there are at least some, if not many, among those who have been pondering over the Americo-Japanese problem for a long while, who have experienced from time to time a peculiar feeling as if there were more than one Americas, whereas there is but one Japan. In the situation now unfolding before our eyes, there is a streak of hope that such an illusion might disappear in due course of time. Indeed the present situation is, so far as my meagre knowledge of American history goes, rather unique in that respect that on the question of external differences we have on one side the executive backed by the consensus of opinion of all the responsible press, and on the other, the legislature. Incidentally it may be observed that in this respect, the present situation is entirely different from any of bygone days, when a Joint High Commission showed itself to be useful. The "grave consequences" incident may have had the passive merit of having roused in the United States a really nation-wide interest in the Americo-Japanese problem. Let us hope that the attitude of outspoken fairness on the part of the representative American press eventually metamorphoses itself into the solid public opinion of America as an organic compact whole.

That the unscrupulous activity of an energetic minority, for good or evil, often dominates the situation in a democracy, is something inevitable in the present-day

working of democracy. In the case before us, it is the well organized activity of the minority of the Pacific coast States that brought about the present unfortunate and anomalous situation. A silver lining to the cloud now gathering in Washington is that the ultimate result of the impulsive action of the Senate will have served a most useful purpose in as much as the agitation which has been going on since some time past has drawn the really earnest attention of the greater America to the Japanese question which has hitherto been misrepresented for purposes other than that of promoting the aggregate welfare of mankind. Let us hope that the time may not be very far off when the assertion that east of the Rockies there is no Japanese question, becomes entirely obsolete. Time is the panacea which would permit the Senate to retain its self complacency, to act in accord with what is beyond all question the predominating will of the United States as a whole, without appearing to be inconsistent or contradictory.

Incidentally, our thought goes to the closely allied subject of the general problem of representation in the American democracy. That the word "gerrymander" is of American origin, seems to be only one of many tokens of the existence of room for improvement of the representative system in the United States. It is a well known fact that the early conception of proportional representation now in vogue in many countries was nursed in the very heart of "the Cradle of American Liberty". That the movement of the reform of representation has made no headway in the United States may appear to some paradoxical. • Now, America possesses a big margin of everything denied to all other countries of the world, whose origin may ultimately be traced to her enormous wealth and well-nigh inexhaustible resources. All the contradictions and irrelevancies, if there be any, in the representative system of the United States, are submerged in that big margin of something which is hard to describe, but which may perhaps be inferred from the observation that an American is born either

a Republican or a Democrat. If the Republican split in 1912 were not ephemeral, it might have given a slight impetus to the reform movement of the American representative system. The present anomalous situation created by the latest phase of the Japanese question will give food to the thought of the reform of representation in the United States. Let us wait for the day when it can be truly said that the American people have finally made up their mind on the Japanese question.

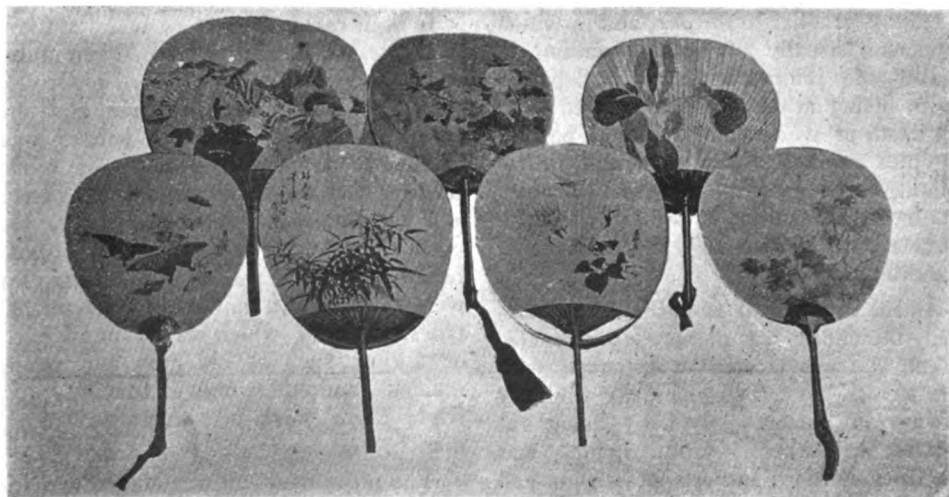
In throwing a glance on the prospect around our own self, let us try to think a little more of the future than of the happenings of the hour, as our fathers of the Meiji era were used to do. By thus saying, I do not mean the remote future but the future which is but the tomorrow in the life of a nation. Let us persist in the hope of an amicable solution of the immigration problem crushed though it has been by the latest developments. Without having the slightest idea of belittling the disinterested labor of those who have been patiently working for the cause of American-Japanese friendship, it cannot be gainsaid that hitherto the whole matter had an appearance of having been left in the hand of a number, not many, of professional workers. Let us take care that the nation-wide interest roused by the unfortunate incident should not live an ephe-

meral existence. Let us take to heart that the calmness and self-restraint which we have been able to show at this critical time, is no less due to the attitude of fairness on the part of the American executive and the American press and to the sympathetic attitude of Americans living in our midst, than to our own self. Let us hope for the emergence in due course of time of an intelligent public opinion which takes due cognisance of the American mentality, backed by the united country and soaring high above the plane of political struggles and party strife. If this intelligent public opinion of ours sees eye to eye with the solid public opinion of America as an organic compact whole, there seems to be no reason why this intricate problem of immigration cannot be solved in a way satisfactory to both countries.

So far as the immediate future is concerned, we must be prepared to go through the vicissitudes, the ups and downs, of hope and despair. Let Japan show that she is capable of brave forbearance— forbearance which should not degenerate into lethargic inactivity nor serve as a cover for void, but which is always on the alert to take the first opportunity of showing that it was not exercised in vain.

Kamakura, April, 1924.

(From the "Koku-sai Chi-shiki"—July Number)



Brief Note on Comparison Between the *No* and the Greek Drama

With Supplementary Remark on the Similarity between the *No* Kyogen and the Elizabethan Interludes

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1. Comparison between *No* and the Greek Tragedy

While the *No* and the Greek tragedy were quite different in scope of conception, the former being wonderfully executed small mosaics of quotations and allusions from preceding literary masterpieces, and the latter grand original dramatizations of mythological legendary themes, nevertheless there were striking similarities between them in form and manner of development.

In theme they were both quasi-religious and didactic, presenting the character and deeds of gods and heroes, the supernatural element predominating in both, and in construction they were alike lyric.

In performance they were both severely conventional, and in plot they observed the three unities of time, place and action. In neither were there any divisions into acts, the episodes being separated by music. However, in what Professor Haga calls *fukushiki*, or dual, plots, which are a feature peculiar to the *No*, and in which a person usually of humble station, in reality the reincarnation of a departed hero, living at the place associated with his death or worship, in the latter part of the plot assumes his real form, thus necessitating a change of make-up and costume, the interval was filled by an *ai no kyogen*, a farce which had no logical-relation with the drama.

In the *No* as well as in the Greek tragedy the chorus was the predominant element, and was located on the stage with the actors. The singing was similarly always in unison, polyphony being unknown to either. Good singing was regarded as more important than finished acting. The chorus participated with the

actors in the dialogue, which was metrical in composition, and spoken with rhythmic declamation. The *No* like the Greek orchestra included the flute, while the former also had drums, and the latter sometimes the harp.

While the *No* chorus confined itself to song and dialogue, the Greek chorus also took part in the dancing. At first the leader of the Greek chorus was the sole reciter, but later actors were added one by one, until the number reached three, which was also the usual number in the *No*. Just as in the latter the actors were divided into *shite*, *waki* and *tsure*, so in the former they were classified into protagonists, deuteragonists and tritagonists, according to the kinds and importance of the parts they played. On both stages the actors were exclusively men, who also impersonated female characters. The *No* actors were a highly respected profession, as were also the Greek, who were regarded as a kind of priesthood.

In both cases the actors were masked to represent unnatural and supernatural parts, and the costumes were costly and gorgeous. Both the Japanese and the Greek masks were made to portray in a primitive manner, by means of broad features such as the mouth and eye-brows and the shade of the complexion, the peculiar character and moods of the different *personae dramatis*, and in time they were reduced to a number of conventional types, some of which served in all parts of a kind, such as old men and young maidens, and others only in specific roles, while there were also fantastic animal masks.

The movements of the actors were alike solemn, majestic and stately, consist-

ing of rhythmic, symbolic and descriptive gestures of arms, head and body.

The whole impression—music, song, dialogue, make-up and movement—was highly romantic and mystic—appealing to the naive audiences of the time, who were as fond of tears as of laughter.

The stage in both the *No* and the Greek tragedy lacked realistic properties, and there was no attempt to create any illusion of place or time, the *mise en scene* being left to the imagination of the audience, as it was suggested by the words of the chorus. There was no artificial light as performances were held by day light. Just as the *No* stage was limited to the pine tree background and a few primitive properties, so the Greek stage was confined to the painted wall and the altar in the centre. The later, however, had apparatus which the former did not, especially for use in connection with supernatural events, such as the *deus ex machina*, the Charonic ladders and the *ekkyklema*. This apparatus was paralleled in the later stage of the *kabuki*, the popular stage of the Tokugawa era, by the *seriage*, *suppon*, *chumori* et cetera.

2. Comparison between the No Kyogen and the Greek Comedy

The *dengaku* and *sarugaku* were originally comic dances of the commoners, which in the hands of the priesthood and gentry were developed into serious drama, althoheit still primitive in plot. However, the comic element did not disappear because the names by which it was originally known had changed their content. It persisted and developed independently, reappearing in the form of comediettas under the name of *no kyogen*. These were farces played between the acts of the serious *yokyo*, as the lyric drama of the *No* was called, and the dialogue was composed in the colloquial language of the day. It is thus seen that while both the *yokyo* and the *kyogen* had a common ancestor, they separated and developed apart, and finally the *kyogen* were made to supplement the *yokyo*, thus providing a programme with both tragic and comic elements, the latter intend to provide a

comic relief to the mental tension of the former.

In this process of evolution the *kyogen* was remarkably similar to the Greek comedy, not only in evolution, but also in its purpose, subjects, structure and performance.

As on the one hand the *dengaku* and *sarugaku*, originally comic dances, developed into the serious drama of the *No*, so the satyr songs, or comic "tragedy," evolved into the tragic chorus, using the word "tragic" in our modern sense; so on the other hand the old comic *dengaku* and *sarugaku* survived under the new name of *kyogen*, in the same manner as the satyr song, or comic "tragedy," was renamed as the "comedy."

Just as the *dengaku* was originally performed by farmers at sowing time as a prayer for abundant harvests, so the Greek comedy originated with the mumming of rustics at the vintage and harvest feasts, in honor of Bacchua, the god of the creative power of nature.

The purpose of the satyr song was the same as that of the *kyogen*—to furnish comic relief, as already stated—the later being played between the *yokyo*, and the former as the final part of the tetralogy, which constituted the conventioned programme of the Greek stage, the saytr song being independent of the trilogy, as the three dramas in the tragic cycle were called.

As the *kyogen* often burlesqued the characters in the *yokyo*, so the Greek comedies were often parodies on the subjects of the tragedies. Both satirized the social conditions of their time, but in the *kyogen* the satire was impersonal and humorous, while in the Greek comedies it was personal and malicious, being directed against particular public men, although this practice was finally abolished as offensive. The comedies then created universal comic types (not directed against particular persons), such as irritable or good-natured fathers, light-hearted or honest sons, cunning servants, parasitic relatives, et cetera, in the same way as the *kyogen* burlesqued *daimyos* as unaccomplished, retainers as clever, oriests as impious,

husbaeds as quick-tempered, wives as jealous, and so forth, and created situations to set off the follies and foibles of the characters. However, the *kyogen* differed from the Greek comedy in the absence of the extreme obscenity which characterized the latter owing to its phallic origin.

The *kyogen* like the Greek comedy marked the transition from unroad to real persons and life in the drama. While the *degaku* and *sarugaku* were lyric, the *kyogen* dispensed with the song, and the dialogue became conversational, thus marking another step in the direction of pure drama. In the case of the Greek comedy, however, the saytr songs developed into a chorus, which at the same time took a more and more realistic part in the action, and gradually diminished the extent of its participation until it finally disappeared. While in the early Greek comedy the actors performed with bare faces, as did the *kyogen* actors, in the later comedy they wore masks, just as they did in the tragedy, but in the comedy as in the *kyogen* the costumes were those of real life.

3. Comparison between the No Kyogen and the Elizabethan Interludes

Even in the history of the drama in England we find a parallel to the *kyogen* in the so-called interludes of the sixteenth century. The Miracle and Morality plays were serious, just as the *yokoku* were, both dealing with legendary and supernatural characters, and both being religious and didactic in motive. There was one class of Moralities known as Everyman which taught the shortness of life and the vanity of earthly interests, in the same manner as the *yokoku* set forth the similar Buddhist doctrine.

As the *kyogen* represented the link between the quasi-religious *yokoku* and the secular *kabuki*, so the interludes marked the transition from the religious Miracle and Morality plays to the secular drama of the Elizabethan age. The interludes like the *kyogen* were comedies of real life, the characters being such types as friars,

palmer, pardoners, pedlars, et cetera, and the plots being satirical treatments of both clergy and laymen. Both the *kyogen* and the interludes were dramatic in form and only required more fully developed plot to become the true comedy.

As the *yokoku* and *kyogen* contributed in subject and structure to the *kabuki* drama of the Tokugawa era, so the moralities and interludes had a vital relation to the Elizabethan drama.

While, as already stated, in scope and treatment the Greek and pre-Elizabethan plays were quite different from the Ashikaga drama, from the foregoing comparison it is seen that in origin, development and structure, the similarities were more striking than the difference. These similarities must be attributed to the operation of common laws under varying conditions.

(Notes on some special terms, used in this essay.)

(GREEK DRAMA.)

DUES EX MACHINA: *Deus ex machina* means a god who, at the close of a play, by his supernatural appearance upon the scene, solves the highly complicated plot, which could not have been solved by natural causes.

CHARONIC LADDER: The *Charonic ladders* are supposed to have been used by the spirits of the dead in ascending to the *orchestra* (stage) from the cave underneath.

EKKYLEMA; As far as scholars have been able to determine, the *Ekkylema* was a simple platform, which rested on cylinders or wheels, by which it was moved to the *orchestra*, where it was held by ropes, which were used to pull it back to the *proskenion*.

ORCHESTRA: The *Orchestra* was the circular stage on which *choras* and *actors* appeared.

PROSKENION: The *Proskenion* was a decorated wall in front of the *skene*, which in turn closed the *orchestra*.

(MORALITY AND MIRACLE
PLAYS.)

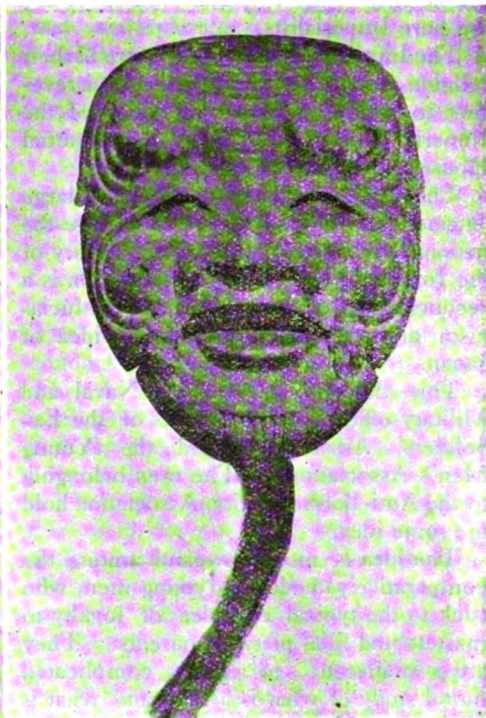
MORALITY: The *Morality* play arose in the later Middle Ages. The characters were personifications of vices, virtues and defects, which were exposed, punished or corrected.

MIRACLE: The *Miracle* plays developed in the Middle Ages, and treat-

ed religious events. The principal character was the Virgin Mary. Holy men and women were also represented. At first they were serious plays, but gradually became vulgar, and vilified clergymen as well as laymen. The part the Virgin played was to save every villain no matter how heinous his crime, if he only asked her assistance.



"Hakuzozu" a Kyogen Mask.



"Okina" a Noh Mask.

Current Thoughts of the Young Generation of Japan

The current of thought of the young generation of Japan flows in three directions, conservative, radical and moderate.

The conservatives seek their athletics and games from among the characteristic Japanese *judo*, fencing, archery and other old military arts. Their motto is the sanctity of the Imperial House. They are pure Imperialists.

The Imperial House is the centre of their religion and belief. They feel it irreverent to make a scientific study of the Imperial House. For them, the Imperial House is the Empire of Japan.

They are convinced that to enlarge Japanese territories abroad and to raise the national prestige is to enhance the glory of the Imperial House. Their ambition is a reconciliation of pure Japanized confucianism and the inherent national idea of Japan.

This thought is held by Naval and Military officers and exsoldiers of the Ex-Soldiers' Associations and the Young Men's Associations. The men belonging to the Anti-Bolshevization Association hold the same idea.

The idea is most powerful among the comparatively uneducated young men, who stick to the typical old idea of loyalty to masters and filial piety to parents. They are indifferent to any complicated moral study of what is loyalty and what is filial piety. Nor is it a matter of consideration to them as to how human thoughts and life are changing and how the world situation is shifting. They faithfully keep to what is taught or hinted by their old educationists or their old fashioned seniors. They have produced men attempting to assassinate socialists and, for example, to disturb the funeral service of Sakaye Osugi, a socialist leader.

The radicals are found more among the comparatively educated men and also among the labourers, who are of uneasy life and are always menaced in their position by the capitalists. The Waseda

University is a centre of the former, led by a few professors of radical ideas such as Takatsu, Inomata, Yamakawa and Kimura.

These persons have been long studying current foreign thoughts. They follow socialism, communism or Bolshevism. Their arguments have been simply academic based on economic grounds and without any careful study of the actual life of the Japanese. They have been strengthened in their belief and stimulated in its propagation by the existing status of labour here, which is in the transition stage, with the oppression of capital and the ill-treatment of labour. They at last went to the extremity of making a daring attempt on the dignity of the Imperial House.

Their followers in conspiracy with the Bolsheviks in Shanghai have been distributing secret literature and propagandizing their ideas in this country. Still their actions have been practically resultless except for the amazement excited in the public.

They have a good knowledge of Western thought. But they know little about the Japanese national character. They have been criticised and abused as blind followers of Western thought and as quite ignorant of the possibilities of the realization of the thought in this particular country. This criticism possesses much truth.

Those holding to moderatism think that socialism is good and any one with modern knowledge of economics admits the truth of its principles, but these principles need not be applied to the re-construction of the national constitution of Japan, besides the economic machinery and the national life. Nor can we enter anarchism with it. The Russians and Germans have been advocating such principles antipathetically and in resistance against many years' oppression by tyrannical Governments. An attempt to adopt such principles thoroughly in Japan is thought to be an evil consequence

of foreign veneration and introspective thoughtlessness on the part of the radicals.

This is a great defect of the radicals and can never be compensated for by whatever lofty idea is attainable by them in their social movements.

Moderatism is held by thoughtful youths, who are highly educated. They recognize the truth of radicalism to a certain extent, while they consider it heedless and ineffectual to go to the length of attempting to attain its objects with bloodshed as the radicals have done. The Japanese are an intelligent people, they think, and no one from the Imperial family down to the labour class is so stupid as to want a bloody revolution. The wise Emperor Meiji bestowed on his people constitutional government amidst their cheers, while it was only secured after many years' bloody struggle in England. The moderatists believe that the revolution as advocated by the socialists can be worked out gradually in this country.

It was over ten years ago that we could check the monopolization of profits by a few capitalists by nationalizing the railway, salt and tobacco business. We have social bureaux in the Home Office and various prefectural offices for relieving unemployed labourers. There are free hospitals maintained on a foundation from the Imperial House and a social relief society known as the Keifuku-kwai capitalized by another Imperial donation. Thoughtful capitalists accord kind treatment to their male and female workers.

These are things advocated by the socialists, although they are yet not nationally extended. These social problems have been realized mostly by the wise judgement of Japanese, who are ready to follow the principles of righteousness, although it has been doubtlessly accelerated not a little by the arguments of the radicals.

The moderatists are most indignant over the radicals' heinous attempts directly concerning the dignity of the Imperial House and setting the national constitution at naught. Their indignation is different from the blind anger of the conservatives.

The Japanese people and their Imperial House belong to the same family, which constitutes the country. The people have never been subjugated by the Imperial family, from which their ancestors descended. This is a special feature in the relation of sovereign and subjects in Japan that differentiates it from the system in other countries.

In the history of Japan we can find no record of tyrannical Imperial government. Peace and harmony have reigned in our Imperial House and people. How foolish and inconsiderate it is to try to apply directly to Japan such theories or doctrines as are created by foreigners, who are ignorant of such characteristic national constitution.

No one can be so foolish as to eject his parents in order to imitate another family system.

The moderatists laugh at the conservatives' idea of loyalty and filial piety, which is not grounded on any sound principle. The conservatives think only of loyal conduct in foreign war, to say the most. They do not appear to consider loyalty in a peaceful life. They are inspiring loyalty in anticipation of a war, which might occur once or twice in a century.

They also hold an erroneous idea of filial piety, for they think absolute submission to parents as the way of filial piety. They do not oppose the injustice of parents. They have even helped them in unjustifiable conduct by their order, and have not thought of their responsibility for it. They have not been conscious of the more dutiful way of opposing parents' unjust behests.

The moderatists hold a more thoughtful idea of socialism. Western materialism cannot be adopted in the Orient without modifications, they think, as the theory to find the way of the solution of the human life problem simply by material satisfaction cannot be supported by Orientals, who are deeply inspired with the idea of spiritual life. At least, the Japanese young generation cannot bear unspiritual and unideal life, while they can stand a life, which wants in material. Orientals are accustomed to a comparatively sacetic life,

as they have been long taught Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. At least, they possess an ideal which transcends material.

Materialism is too much caught by material. Human beings cannot of course get away entirely from material life. Those without material wants are liable to abuse their material security, if they are not mentally trained at the same time. The socialists' advocacy of a material revolution before a mental reformation cannot, therefore, be endorsed, while we admit that their advocacy possesses some truths. In the opinion of the moderatists, one needs not so much to cling to material things, when he is cultivated in mind. The question is which of materialism and spiritualism is to come first in human mind's. This is just the ideal at issue between the Japanese young moderatists and the socialists.

The spirit of class destruction overflows the minds of Japanese young men in all directions. A tendency is manifest among them of recognizing no distinction of class between the Imperial family and the people. Mr. Y. Arima, the heir of Viscount Arima, who belongs to the so-called "special class" and ran for parliament this year, recently stated to a newspaper man that he is ashamed of being a descendant of a daimyo and therefore of being of the peerage, which is a special class, for the daimyo was simply a powerful local family oppressing the people by military power during the War Period and its descendants ought not to hold their heads high and be haughty towards the common people.

Marquis Yoshichika Tokugawa, who belongs to a branch of the Tokugawa family, a feudal lord of Owari in the pre-restoration period, lately spoke in the House of Peers, attacking the Cabinet. He went to the length of stating that the exclusive possession of political power by the special class, not representing the popular mind, he feared would give rise to the occurrence of a French revolution in Japan.

Count Itagaki's and Baron Kikuchi's heirs did not apply for their succession to

the peerage upon their fathers' demise, to the Department of the Imperial Household, and relinquished their privilege as peers. They are highly educated as Government university graduates. From such words and deeds of young nobles, who are conscious of the current tendencies, we may draw conclusions as to how the spirit of class leveling is gaining ground among the Japanese young generation. It is remarkable that capitalists have been moved to a changed attitude by the young men's movements so that not a few of them have put out their money for public works.

The late Z. Yasuda, the head of the millionaire Yasuda family, was assassinated by a young radical for the assigned reason of his grudging to give his money for the public welfare. Since then, his bereaved family has been giving its money to public works, declaring it to be in accordance with the deceased's desire.

The popularity of the spirit of class leveling has most awakened young labourers. One reason for this awakening is an increase in the number of those with middle and higher grade education among them. These labourers have come to respect their position and to resist oppressive capitalists, under the influence of the world's tendencies.

Young women have been awakened, too. This is another conspicuous sign of the times. A union of professional women and the demand for woman suffrage are simply questions of time.

Finally about young men of letters, they mostly belong to the category of radicals and hold socialistic thoughts, naturally as a result of their accession to foreign tendencies. They speak highly about the so-called proletarian literature. There is, however, no definition given by them of such literature; and its real strength is a question, although it is true that literary works on the proletariat are influential.

It is particularly noteworthy that despite that so many Japanese young men are inclining, in ideal and practice, towards radicalism, only a very few have made treasonable attempts on the Imperial House. The Japanese Imperial House

The Thirty-Second Ordinary General Meeting of the Japan Red Cross Society

THE thirty-second ordinary general meeting of the Japan Red Cross Society was held in the Constitution Memorial Hall in the outer precincts of the Meiji Shrine, Gondawara, Aoyama, Tokyo, at 9.30 A.M., May 14th. It being fine weather, the meeting was attended by a large number of members from all parts of the country, and the attendance reached about 15,000 by the hour appointed, fully occupying the spacious grounds.

H. I. M. the Empress left the Imperial Palace at 10 A.M., and arrived at the grounds at 10.15 A.M., when the Military Band played the national anthem. At the entrance, Her Majesty was welcomed by H. I. H. Prince Kan-in, the Honorary President of the society, and T. I. M. Princesses Higashi-Fushimi, Kuni, Nashimoto, Takeda, Higashi-Kuni, Kayo and Li, Baron Hirayama, the President of the society, Prince Tokugawa and Mr. Sakamoto, its Vice-Presidents, and other personages.

Entering the resting-room, Her Majesty met the Imperial Prince and Princesses and received in audience the Home Minister Dr. Mizuno, the War Minister Gen. Ugaki, the Naval Vice-Minister Admiral Okada, President Baron Hirayama, Vice-President Prince Tokugawa, Vice-President Sakamoto, Managers, Councillors, Auditors and other officials of the society, President Dr. Sato of the society's head hospital, President Marchioness Nabeshima of the Volunteer Nurse Society, Vice-President Viscountess Motono of the same society, the Managers

and its people have been so harmoniously in relation for the past three thousand years that the bond of affinity can not be broken with ease. Any new thought from abroad and any advocacy of foreign radical ideas will be unsuccessful, if this special feature in the national constitution of Japan is overlooked.

of branch offices of the Japan Red Society, and other persons.

Her Majesty then listened to a report on the present condition of the society by President Baron Hirayama, who presented her with the society's report and other papers. Then, Honorary President Prince Kan-in, the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Home, and War Ministers, and the Naval Vice-Minister, attended the meeting. The President announced the opening of the meeting and reported on the business and accounts of the society for the fiscal year 1923-1924 and on its present condition. After that, he nominated a committee of 4 members, which selected 13 Councillors and 3 Auditors, whose names were reported to the meeting by the President.

H. I. M. the Empress then entered the meeting amid music, preceded by Honorary President Prince Kan-in. She wore a pleasing light green gown, and appeared to be in very good spirits. After solemn silence for a moment, cheers of "banzai" spontaneously burst from the great assembly, which pleased Her Majesty, and she responded with a smile.

Her Majesty then read the following address:—

I am happy to attend this, the 32nd ordinary general meeting of the Japan Red Cross Society and to meet you all.

I am very glad that at the time of the earthquake, last year, the society, properly acting in co-operation with its branch offices, which came forward in the emergency, achieved efficient relief work. It is also very gratifying that we were given such warm sympathy and help by various foreign Governments and peoples. I wish you to continue to work more and more in the interests of the society, in harmony and co-operation, as there is not a little yet to be done by it in the arrangement and extension of its affairs.

The Imperial message was replied to by

Honorary President Prince Kan-in, who read the following address:—

It is a great honour to the society that to-day, the thirty-second ordinary general meeting is honoured by the presence of H. I. M. the Empress and with her gracious message.

The society has been enjoying ever growing prosperity since its foundation, with a yearly increasing number of members, solely through the favour of your Majesty's great humanity and benevolence, for which we are exceedingly grateful.

Our timely work of relief, at the time of the great earthquake, aroused foreign and domestic sympathy, through which we could accomplish and bring nearly to an end the relief work, with success. We have need to re-adjust and extend our

work now that our affairs have been restored to pre-quake conditions, to achieve which I am determined to encourage our members and to meet your Majesty's wishes.

Her Majesty was then informed of the closing of the meeting by President Baron Hirayama and she retired, when there were again cheers of *banzai*, to which Her Majesty replied with a gracious bow.

Her Majesty in retiring was told by President Baron Hirayama of the presence of about 50 representatives of the Juvenile Red Cross under its banner and the flags of the model sections of the society's branch offices and their representatives, at the right of the platform, and she stopped and watched them for a moment.

Her Majesty after a short rest drove back to the palace.

TO AN EAGLE

Aomihara,
Nushi naki shima mo
Motometen,
Sora tobu washi yo!
Ware ni se wo kase.

Away o'er blue seas, far far away,
Would Heaven that I could venture forth to explore
Some secret isles beyond all human sway!
Hark thou, O Monarch of the air, I thee implore,
On the strong pinions, thither me convey!

By Dr. M. INOUE,
Tr. by Dr. K. WADAGAKI

Twilight Story

STRANGE HAWKERS AND BEGGARS OF THE PAST

THERE were many hawkers and beggars in strange styles in the Tokugawa period, when the police were more lenient than to-day and masquerading was not prohibited. They tried to get money or sell articles by attracting public notice by their extraordinary appearance.

Wrestling with Oneself.—This was a kind of begging. One standing in front of a trading house stripped off his clothes and gave a performance, in which he moved as if he were most energetically wrestling with another. Spectators standing round him would throw him coppers. At first, the trick was given on the streets, but later, it was performed on a fixed unoccupied ground, round which gathered the easy-going Yedo people to see it. When many persons flocked about, the beggar would start his feat, in which he called out the names of some popular professional wrestlers, and would pretend to wrestle with them. He imitated either party himself and during the wrestling with himself, he showed a position, in which either party was on the verge of being defeated by the other. Enthusiastic spectators supporting either party cheered and encouraged him. They threw money, upon which the man would assume the position in which the wrestler given the more support in money was likely to defeat the other. Seeing this, the latter's supporters would throw money excitedly. Finally, the one getting the more substantial support was made to win. This was a lucrative way of begging. It was most popular in Yedo from the Shotoku to Kyoho eras (1711-1735) and even at the beginning of the Meiji era, when it went out of existence as a result of the prohibition of nudity in open places.

Masquerading Hawkers.—Masquerading hawkers in the Tokugawa period were most seen in the interval of about 80 years from the Meiwa era (1764-1771) to the Tenpo era (1830-1843). They were singular in style and cries and they met the

characteristic taste of the Yedo men, fond of novelty.

Their pioneer was Dohei, an "ame" (glutinous rice-jelly) peddler, who was famous in the Meiwa era. He wore a "nunoko" (wadded clothes) with the dyed letters "Dohe-Dohe" (a corruption of Dohei, his name), a sleeveless "haori" (a coat), yellow and black, and a "zukin" (a hood) of light blue, trimmed with red silk. He sang and danced with comic gestures as he hawked. His song was:

"Dohe to yutara naze hara tacharu,
Dohe mo wakai toki iro-otoko Dohe-
Dohe" (Why do you get angry at
hearing me crying my name Dohe. I
was a gallant in my youth.)

He soon became very popular with the citizens. There were, however, some strangely dressed hawkers before him. A noted book written by Itcho Hanabusa tells of one of them. He wore a hair hat and a false mustache. He wore a Chinese garment and carried a round fan, with which he danced. He blew a Chinese whistle to gather the children, his customers, round him.

One famous in the Kansei era was the Fox Man, who peddled "ame." He disguised himself as a white fox and wore a fox mask. He danced comically to the buyers of "ame".

One popular way of peddling in the Anyei era was "fukurinto-uri". The hawker put on a pointed hat and carried a big pot over the shoulder. He cried, "Oranda-no Fukurinto koriri umai-umai" (how nice Dutch cake is) as he walked along. His "fukurinto" was a rice-cracker with ginger jelly.

Yokanpei of Shinoda-no-mori was a contemporary. He peddled patent medicines. Yokanpei is the name of a "yakko" (a servant) in a drama known as Ashiya Doman Ouchi-Kagami. It sounded as if it meant "It is good"; and the hawker cried:

"Senshu Shinoda-no-mori no Inari no gomuso Yokanpei ga koyaku wa senki sunpaku ni hattara yokaro (It is good to apply Yokanpei's plaster as taught in a dream by the Shinoda-no Inari, Senshu for colic) "Shaku ya tsuka e ni nondara Yokanpei" (It is good to drink it for gastrospasm or heart-trouble.)

"Kata kara suso made hattara Yokanpei" (It is good for aches from the shoulder to the foot.)

These hawkers went always in twos. They wore a cotton short coat of coarse vertical-stripes, trousers and brass sword. They shouldered a small medicine-chest carried by doctors with brass fittings on the corners. They looked splendid as a daimyo's "sakibako".

The Bunka and Tenpo eras were the most popular period for masquerading hawkers. One of the most famous peddlers was "O-Man-ga-Ame" (an "ame" seller). The peddler was aged about 40, black, fat and bearded and wearing a woman's dress. He wore a wadded cloth of light blue cotton, a red cotton chemise with a yellow neck-band, a red sash, a red apron and a black enamelled hat with red bands. For a buyer of "ame" worth more than 100 "mon" he sang in a horse voice:

"Kawai kerya koso Kanda kara kayo o niku te Kanda kara kayowaryo ka O-Man ga ame jani itcho ga shimon ja." (I visit you from Kanda, as I love you. If I did not love you, why should I visit you from Kanda? Buy O-Man "ame", at 4 "mon" a piece.)

As he sang he danced very coquettishly. With this song and dance, he made himself the most popular of peddlers. Kanjaku Nakamura, a famous actor from Osaka, danced in a popular play on the stage of the Nakamura Theatre in imitation of the hawker in the spring of the 10th year of Tenpo (1839), and made a great success. He thanked the "ame-ya" by presenting to him a "kimono". This even more popularized the man, whose business doubled.

This popularity blighted his life, for the local Governor fined him. At the same time, it was forbidden to peddle by masquerading, and this soon ruined such peddling. Subsequently, similar peddlers came to be seen again, with the relaxation of the ban, but their business was not so popular as previously.

A Beggar of Filial Piety.—The idea was conceived by an old beggar, who bound the head and bust of a doll on his chest. The hands were put behind and the feet about the waist. When hands were put on the doll's shoulders, it looked as if one were carrying on the back an old man. In this form, the beggar cried "A dutiful son! A dutiful son!" and walked along the streets, as if a young man were carrying on his back his aged father and talking to please him. Many people meeting this funny fellow on the streets gave money, as they thought it good to imitate such a virtuous deed as filial piety.

"Honi-Horo".—This was a street vendor getting money from children by showing them something. "Honi-horo" meant dancing and running with a papier-mache horse set on the dancer's waist so as to make him look as if on horseback. One of the two vendors in company was disguised as a Chinaman or a warrior and had the "honi-horo" fastened to the waist, while the other man carried a flat bat like a battledoor, on which was set a round piece of glass about 2", through which a thing looked seven. Children paying 4 "mon" could look through it at the one "on horseback" playing a flute and dancing with a folding fan to the singing of the other. This "honi-horo" is said to be a word derived from the English "hobby horse", the name of an English toy imported from Holland in the Tenmei era (1781-1788). This horse was a favourite of Japanese children even until the beginning of the Meiji era.

Two Roles by a Man.—The face and garment of a man was divided into two parts, one of which was made up as a man and the other as a woman. In this queer style, the man played two roles a

the same time. This was performed in Kyoto from about the Kyoho era, and later in Yedo in the Bunsei era.

A kind of dancing called "ryomen-odori" was soon seen in leading theatres, the dancer wearing a mask playing the roles of a male and a female. In the Tenpo era, this dancing was adopted by beggars on the streets for getting money. Their faces were made up as a man on one-half and a woman on the other half, and the kimono was also half for a man and half for a woman. When the woman spoke, they turned the woman's side to the spectators and when the man spoke, they turned the man's side to them. Other beggars fixed a mask and an appropriate kimono to the back, and they acted two roles by turning back and front, in turn.

"A Ghost Grave".—This was another way of begging, which prevailed towards the end of the Yedo period. A beggar fastened a papier-mache grave-stone about 2' high to his waist. He painted his face blue and wore a white kimono. As he walked, he always hid his face behind the grave-stone, which looked to the persons coming towards it as if the grave-stone were walking. When he came to a place, where many children gathered, he would appear before them as a ghostly figure, while the grave-stone dropped. The children were frightened or were made to laugh. He begged money from their houses.

A Bear.—This form of begging was very primitive. Two men formed a company. One of them made himself a bear by blacking his face, hands and feet, and another led it by a chain. The leader standing in front of houses said "This wild bear was captured in the Province of Tanba". When he said so, the bear walked about on four feet and stood on its hind legs as a real bear would do.

People then compared this form of begging with that of filial piety, which we described before, saying there was a difference between the wise beggar showing filial piety and the unwise ones mimicking a bear and its leader, the former being alone and being able to earn

nearly twice as much as the latter. We are not certain that the wise man earned so much. Anyhow, his idea was beyond comparison with "the bear and its leader".

"Suta-Suta-Bozu" (A Priest).—This beggar was nude even in the cold season. His head was shaven and a handkerchief was tied round it. He begged money from trading-houses, saying, "Trade is prosperous in the year when the 'suta-suta-bozu' comes. 'Suta-suta' means walking quickly. Although naked, he tied a straw rope round his waist. He carried a bamboo stick of 3" or 4", the top of which was split. Several small coins were put into the split through their holes. As he cried out, he jingled the coins by shaking the stick.

The Sweeper.—This beggar carried a bamboo broom, and cleaned dust before gates, for which he begged money. He cried, "Sweep! Sweep! From morning to evening!"

"The Sake Cask Carrier".—This idea was similar to the one of filial piety. He carried a big papier-mache sake cask, and his head came out of it. He visited every house, begging money.

"Osho-Kyo".—This beggar was a boy, who kept in his sleeves a few small earthen dolls. In front of a house, he would take out one, on the threshold saying, "Osho kyo wa okane ga na dossari to mokari mashita. Kore wa koredemo na Nihon wa sochinju Fushimi-no-Inari-Daimyoin na (yo). Kochiran (kochirae) tatase tamo wana" (The Osho (priest) has to-day earned much money. This is the Inari-Daimyoin (the God of Cereals) from the Fushimi Shrine, a national shrine of Japan.) So saying, he took out another doll, calling it another "inari". By Osho, he meant himself. He spoke humorously, attributing his earning money to the help of the "Inari". Superstitious persons gave money to the beggar, hoping that good luck would smile on them.

These hawkers and beggars are no longer seen, one reason for which is the prohibition to masquerade on the streets.

The 49th Session of the Diet

THE extra 49th session of the Diet was convoked on June 25th, soon after the formation of the Kato Ministry. After the general election, many seats in the House of Representatives were taken by new comers, and the Kensei-kai took the place of the Seiyu-kai as the majority party. Mr. G. Kasuya and Mr. M. Koizumi were chosen the President and Vice-President respectively.

On the 28th, the opening ceremony of the Diet was held in the House of Peers in the presence of the Prince Regent.

On July 1st, Premier Kato, Foreign Minister Shidehara and Finance Minister Hamaguchi spoke on the Government administrative policies. The speeches had unusual importance for various reasons. Both houses then changed the order of the day and considered and passed unanimously a resolution against the Japanese immigration measure in the United States. The resolution of the House of Peers reads:

The House of Peers deeply regrets the provision for Japanese exclusion in the new immigration act of the United States, which is against the sense of justice and fairness and it is feared with impair the friendly relations between Japan and the United States.

The following is the text of the resolution of the House of Representatives :—

The House of Representatives declares its strong opposition to the discriminatory provision against Japanese in the new immigration act of the United States, as being at variance with the principle of international justice and impartiality and checking the friendship of seventy years between Japan and the United States. The House hopes that the Imperial Gov-

ernment will adopt promptly suitable measures.

In the lower house, interpellations were then made regarding the ministerial speeches by Mr. H. Motoda, the leader of the Seiyu-honto, and a few others. Before the volley of questions reached its height, the American flag affair came under discussion by another change of the order of the day. Mr. C. Shimooka of the Kensei-kai interpellated regarding the Government's opinion on the tearing down of the American national flag. Mr. Wakatsuki, the Home Minister, replied, sincerely that stating the offender was being strictly searched for and that the affair being highly regrettable, the Government would carefully investigate it.

The House of Peers took up the same question, Home Minister Wakatsuki and Foreign Minister Shidehara replied to interpellation.

Mr. S. Muto, the leader of the Business Men's Party, spoke in interpellation, and Finance Minister Hamaguchi replied. These speeches were most noteworthy of the day's proceedings in the lower house. During the subsequent three days, there were volleys of interpellations by the representatives of all parties. For the discussion of the supplementary Budget, it was arranged that the Budget Committee, the chairman of which was Mr. N. Kataoka, should hold general meetings on the 3rd and 4th and sectional meetings on the 5th and 6th. On the 5th, the house considered the Government bill for the cost of the state funeral of the late Prince Matsukata. The bill was introduced by the Premier, after which it was approved by a majority. It was resolved to send a letter

of condolence from the house to the bereaved family of the Prince.

The House of Peers having been presented with the same bill, passed it unanimously. It also adopted a letter of condolence to be sent to the bereaved family of the Prince.

On the 6th, the Luxury Tariff Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives.

On the 9th, the same house took up for discussion the supplementary Budget. The Seiyu-honto most strenuously opposed the establishment of the new office of parliamentary undersecretaries: A vote was taken on the bill and it was passed by a majority.

On the 12th, the Luxury Tariff bill was a matter of heated discussion, but it passed the lower house. On the 17th, it was considered and passed by the upper house.

On the 17th, the Supplementary Budget for the fiscal year 1924-1925 passed the upper house. The Kenkyu-kai members mostly opposed the establishment of the office of parliamentary undersecretaries, but finally, they yielded consent to the original bill.

On the 17th, the Agrarian Improvement proposal came up for debate in the lower house, which was thrown into confusion over the discussion. Finally, on the 18th the house considered the proposal for revising the system of the House of Peers, presented by the three Government parties. Mr. K. Minoura, a senior member of the Kensei-kai, made an explanatory address. The Seiyu-Honto opposed the proposal, and a hot debate ensued. When a vote was taken, the proposal was passed by a majority.

Both houses were closed on the 18th after sitting for 21 days. They had a

very busy session, and the Lower House held 14 main sittings and 180 sectional and committee meetings. It had 582 bills and proposals and 445 petitions to deal with.

Nearly all the important bills and proposals were disposed of.

When the Supplementary Budget thus approved is added to the main Budget passed at the last session of the Diet, the total for the fiscal year 1924-1925 comes to 1,613,400,025 yen, of which the Supplementary Budget amounts to 266,226,217 yen, including 40,404,073 yen for the cost of reconstruction of the Metropolis, 122,356,675 yen of the cost of resuscitation, 102,970,335 yen for other administrative expenses, 40,000 yen for the cost of the state funeral of the late Prince Matsukata and 455,134 yen for the cost of tenancy arbitration. Besides, the Government disbursed 91,474,802 yen without the approval of the Diet, the last session of which was dissolved. This amount makes the total expenditure for this fiscal year 1,704,874,827 yen.

The Supplementary Budget covers the following appropriations:—

Item.	Amount. Yen.
National Bond Issue .	157,195,669
Taxes	50,488,955
Surplus Transferred .	51,064,363
Other	7,477,230
Total	266,226,217

Prime Minister's Speech at the 49th Session of the Imperial Diet on July 1st, 1924

Gentlemen,

H.I.H. the Prince Regent was graciously pleased to command me to form a Cabinet on the eleventh of last month, and I consider it a great honour to have this

opportunity of addressing you on general policies of the Government.

We have been inevitably debarred by the fact that this Cabinet has been formed only a short time from completing necessary arrangements in regard to the formulation of definite policy. An examination of general conditions at home and abroad reveals the fact that the Powers are hard at work in developing their national strength with a view to extending their influence abroad, and the need is keenly felt in our country for a general awakening of the popular will. In these circumstances, numerous reforms must be carried out in all branches of administration.

I shall now proceed to lay before you my views regarding several of the more important issues now claiming our attention.

I am happy to state that our relations with Treaty Powers continue to grow in cordiality. As you are aware, the new Immigration Act has been enacted recently by the U.S. Congress. The clause in this Act, which is intended to exclude Japanese immigrants is inconsistent with the dictates of justice and fairness, and I greatly regret that in spite of the earnest efforts of the Government and people of this country, the exclusion clause should have come into force. Nevertheless, the Government will endeavour by all reasonable means to find a solution of this question.

It goes without saying that the Government are desirous of re-establishing the friendly relations with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, but I regret to say that, various questions relating to that country being now under negotiation, I am yet unable to make any public announcement as to whether or not it will be brought to a successful conclusion.

The recent development of both school and social education has enormously raised the general standard of knowledge of our whole nation. It is of pressing importance that a system of universal manhood suffrage should be speedily established in order that the people may be enabled to participate to a greater extent in developing the fortunes of the nation, and that the politics of the country may be evolved on a broader basis.

The Elections recently held on several occasions show that there are many things calling for a serious consideration on our part regarding the future of constitutional government, such as the increase of canvassing expenses and the relaxation of discipline. It is of imperative necessity that a thorough investigation should be made as to the advantages or disadvantages of the various systems of constituency and electoral methods, as well as regulations concerning the economy of election expenses and control, with a view to exterminating all evils incidental to election and ensuring the fairness of elections, so that the machinery of constitutional government may be strengthened at all its essential points.

We have not yet been able to complete arrangements for introducing at this Extraordinary Session of the Diet an Electoral Reform Bill designed to achieve these ends, but we shall endeavour to submit it to your consideration at the next Ordinary Session.

With regard to the reform of the House of Peers. It is now being discussed in and out of that House. The Government are inclined to give a most careful consideration to this question and to dispose of it in a most appropriate manner by taking into account the spirit in which the Constitution was laid down as well as the demand of the times.

The laxity of official discipline and the decline of public morals are the most serious evils in our country at present. To cure these evils is a matter of the first and foremost importance in effecting reforms in the administration of state. The Government intend to put an end to these evils by adopting measures for improving conditions of public morality and enforcing discipline among officials by demanding of them more punctuality and diligence in the performance of their duties to the state. It is an essential requisite for the satisfactory working of constitutional government that its officials be divided into parliamentary and permanent classes, so that probity and continuity in the administration of state affairs on the one hand and the smooth operation of parliamentary machinery on the other may be assured. The Government therefore intend to adopt necessary measures for this purpose.

The expansion of the State finances, both central and local, has been more pronounced of late. This is entirely out of harmony with the resources of the country and it stands as an obstacle in the way of achieving the development of the national thrift. Some of the expenses are of wasteful and extravagant character.

In these circumstances, it is imperative to effect a readjustment and retrenchment of the State finances. The Government will, therefore, carry out financial and administrative readjustments, thereby consolidating the financial position of the nation and, at the same time, facilitating development of the national thrift. With reference to the state enterprises, the expenditure of which is met by funds obtained through the flotation of loans, the Government will not embark upon them, except those which are considered most urgent and absolutely necessary. Particularly in the fiscal year of 1924, the Government have discontinued the floating of national loans in the money market, because of the condition current therein, for the purpose of guaranteeing the credit of national loans and lessening their pressure upon national economy in general.

The above is the policy of the Government pertaining to financial administration. Since, however, there has not yet been time enough for revising the supplementary budget for the fiscal year of 1924, the Government have decided to adopt the one compiled by the preceding Cabinet on the whole with only a few alterations. Such being the case, the financial policy of the government will see its realization in the budget for the next fiscal year and after.

In thus reviewing the general policies of state, I have touched only upon some of the issues now requiring our immediate attention. As to other matters, I shall have the pleasure of expressing the views of the government whenever it is deemed necessary and opportune. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Finance will address you on foreign policy and on economic and financial affairs respectively. I earnestly hope that in appreciation of the government's intention, you will, after full and deliberate consideration, give approval to the bill to be introduced to the House.

**Foreign Ministers' Speech at the
49th Session of the Imperial
Diet on July 1st, 1924**

Gentlemen,

The fortunes of a nation are in many cases affected by its foreign relations, and it will readily be seen that the definition of a precise policy for each particular problem calls for a most careful consideration. Only three weeks have elapsed since the formation of the present ministry, and the time placed at our disposal has been too short to work out such a policy. I shall, therefore, confine myself to-day to the exposition of the general outlines of the course which we propose to pursue.

In the first place, I wish to observe that the guiding principle of our foreign policy is to safeguard and to promote our legitimate rights and interests, with due respect to those of other nations, and to maintain the peace of the Far East and the Pacific, as well as the general security of the world. Academic as this principle

may appear, it actually lies at the root of every line of thought and action which we are following in the field of diplomacy. We have no sordid end to serve at the expense of other nations. We are not influenced by any of aggressive tendency or territorial greed, or by any similar policy which is impossible of fulfilment. At the same time, it is the manifest duty of the Government to safeguard and to promote our legitimate rights and interests. There is no cause for apprehension that our discharge of this duty might bring us into conflict with the legitimate rights and interests of others. International discord is engendered when one nation holds to its own narrow vision of selfishness in disregard of the positions to which other nations are duly entitled. On the contrary, it is the principle of "live and let live" for which we stand. The world is now, it appears, gradually awakening to a consciousness of that truth. To this popular tendency, the League of Nations undoubtedly owes its inception. I feel certain that if all nations will simply abide by the same fundamental principle, they ought not to find much difficulty in arriving at a basis for solving any international question with which they may be confronted.

The second point of importance to which I wish to invite your attention is the principle of continuity of foreign policy. This does not mean that methods to be adopted in prosecution of a settled policy should always remain unchanged, nor does it mean that a policy once determined should be allowed to prevail for all time. It often happens in any country that, not only the methods for attaining defined objects but also the objects themselves are liable to modification according to an altered situation. But all official commitments given by one Government to another, whether by treaty or otherwise, should on no account be affected by any change of Government or Cabinet. Therein lies the significance of the diplomatic axiom to which I have referred. By its faithful observance alone can national honour be maintained. Upon it depends the peace of the world. That

principle we shall firmly uphold and we trust that our adhesion to it will be reciprocated by other nations in their dealings with us.

At the present moment, the attention of the nation in regard to our foreign relations is being centred on the questions relating to the new Immigration Act of the United States, to our negotiations with the Soviet Government and to the general situation in China. I shall now proceed to express my general views on these three questions.

As you are aware, a new Immigration Act recently, passed the United States Congress, and having been approved by the President, it has been finally written into the statute-books of the country. As to the genesis of this Act, you will recall that of late years in the United States, immigration from foreign countries, especially from Southern and Eastern Europe, has been showing a marked increase. It has come to be generally believed that it will be a matter of practical difficulty to merge these foreign elements in the homogeneous community of original Americans. It has accordingly been felt necessary to impose a more rigorous restriction upon foreign immigration. As for the emigration of Japanese labourers to the United States, an arrangement popularly called the Gentlemen's Agreement has long been in force. Under that arrangement the Japanese Government have been exercising a prohibitory control over the departure to the United States of all classes of labourers except certain relatives of those living in the United States and persons who are returning to that country after a temporary visit to Japan. Consequently, the increase of new Japanese immigrants in the United States has not been, in fact, of any appreciable number. It is believed that the new Immigration Act was originally intended to institute a rigorous restriction of immigration in general, and that there was no reason for embodying in the Act a provision designed specifically to exclude Japanese immigrants. It is sincerely to be regretted that while the Bill was under discussion in Congress, certain leaders of anti-Japanese persuasions should have

succeeded in putting through a clause to the effect that aliens ineligible to citizenship should, as a rule, be denied admission into the United States.

In reviewing the development of this question, there are three points which engage our attention.

First, no intimation has lately been made, even by the exclusionists, of any inferiority of the Japanese race. Their contention is in effect that the Japanese are to the Americans what oil is to water. Neither oil nor water can be said to be superior or inferior to the other, but the fact is that in no case can oil dissolve and merge in water. In other words, they say, Japanese are unassimilable to American life, and the introduction of such alien elements will prove a source of danger to the United States. Such an argument formed one of the essential pleas for the exclusion of Japanese; it was not on the ground of the inferiority of the Japanese race that the exclusion clause was adopted. It should, however, be pointed out that the plea of Japanese unassimilability is no more than an arbitrary presumption unsupported by any evidence of facts. Our views on this point have been already roughly set forth in the Note of May 31st last addressed by the Japanese Government to the Government of the United States.

Secondly, it has always been consistently maintained by the United States, that the liberty to limit and control immigration is one of the essential attributes of the inherent sovereign rights of each nation. The same argument was repeatedly invoked with special emphasis in the discussion of the exclusion clause. We understand that the importance placed on this point by the United States is due to the special conditions of that country. But we have no intention of calling this doctrine in question. The recognition, however, of such principle does not lead to any conclusion that the exclusion clause is in no respect repugnant to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and the United States.

Thirdly, it should be appreciated that the President and the Secretary of State of

the United States have from the outset shown their opposition to the exclusion clause, and have made all possible efforts to have it eliminated from the Act. Public opinion in the United States, as reflected by a great section of the American press, also appears to be sympathetically disposed to Japan's position in the matter. It is a significant fact that the legislation in question has met with uniform disapproval by many influential newspapers of the United States.

Our protest against the exclusion clause is based upon the conviction that a discriminatory treatment, as laid down in that clause, is contrary to the dictates of justice and fairness, and is imposed upon us in disregard of the ordinary rules of international comity. The legislation is now an accomplished fact in the United States, but we can by no means concede that the question is closed. Until our just contentions shall have been given satisfaction, we shall maintain our protest, and shall use our best possible endeavours to seek an amicable adjustment of the question and to ensure forever the traditional friendship between the two nations.

Turning to the Russian problem, it should be noted that Japan and Russia, being geographically contiguous, and having important economic interests much in common, are destined to come into close relationship with each other as good and friendly neighbours. Our sympathy with Russians is all the more intensified by the vast sacrifice which they offered at the initial stages of the European war for the common cause of the Allies, as well as by the indescribable difficulties which they suffered in the internal struggle towards the closing days of the war. We earnestly trust that the Russian people will emerge successfully from this trying ordeal and speedily achieve their peaceful development. The domestic questions of Russia are admittedly matters on which we are not at liberty to express any opinion. There are, however, various important questions awaiting settlement between the two countries, and unless these questions are fully and definitely settled beforehand, unpleasant disputes are

likely to follow the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. During the past several years unofficial conversations between the representatives of the two Governments have taken place at Dairen, at Changchun and at Tokio, unfortunately without success. More recently, in the days of the last Cabinet, official negotiations were opened at Peking, but in the course of the conference when no agreement of views had yet been reached on various points, our Ministry changed. We are determined to continue the negotiations already opened and, upon careful examination of the question, to make every possible effort to arrive at a satisfactory settlement. Considering that the negotiations are still pending, you will understand that we are not yet in a position to make any definite statement on the course that we are hereafter to take on the subject.

Lastly, the question of China is evidently one to which we attach particular importance. Japan is closely linked with China by political, economic and cultural ties, and a little reflection will make it clear that relations of the fullest understanding should be maintained between the two countries. It is but natural that all the Powers, and this country in particular, should desire to see an early stabilization of political conditions in China, and it is much to be regretted that no appreciable achievement has yet been made in this direction. Recent incidents in which the persons and property of foreigners have been attacked in various parts of China seen to have aroused the attention of the Powers with increasing concern to the unsatisfactory conditions in that country. It should, however, be fully appreciated that it is a tremendous undertaking for China to carry out the work of reform in all branches of administration to suit modern requirements. We shall watch these efforts of the Chinese people with sympathy, tolerance and hope, and we pray that they may be crowned with

success. We shall further be willing to render, in so far as lies in our power, any co-operation that China may require of us. We have no intention whatever of interfering in questions of her internal politics. Nor shall we take any action disregarding of the position which she justly enjoys. At the same time, we trust that China on her part will take no action compromising our rightful position.

It is our intention to promote the economic rapprochement between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, subject always to the principle of equal opportunity in China. We shall strive to achieve this end in a manner which will benefit China herself, as well as Japan, and I have no doubt that the Chinese people will come to realize our policy of fair and square dealing. You are well aware that various treaties relating to China were signed at the Washington Conference. They have not yet come into force, as they remain unratified by some of the signatory Powers. But the principles which they stipulate are in complete accord with our own, and we are resolved to abide by the spirit of those treaties.

In now submitting for your consideration some outlines of our views on questions relating to the United States, Russia and China, I need hardly add that we shall not confine our attention to these questions. Our sincere and earnest efforts will be directed to maintain and to strengthen friendly relations not only with those three countries, but with all the nations having important territorial or economic interests in the Far East and the Pacific, and, generally, to do our whole part in securing to the world the blessings of peace and stability. I am fully sensible of my heavy responsibilities in assuming direction of our foreign affairs, and I rely upon your generous support in the discharge of my mission.